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VOLUME III. APRIL, 1908. NUMBER 2

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

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JOURNAL OF STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY.

EDITED BY VALENTINE MOTT PORTER.

PART I (*Concluded*).

THE COUNCIL BLUFF—ST. PETER'S EXPLORATION (1820).

AN INCIDENT OF THE YELLOWSTONE EXPEDITION.

[Note.—This was the first overland crossing by white persons between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. The purpose of the exploration was to try to discover a practicable overland route for the passage of United States troops between the newly established military post on the Missouri, first known as "Camp Missouri" and later as "Fort Atkinson," near the present city of Omaha, and the new cantonment, known as "Camp Cold Water," the precursor of Fort Snelling, Minnesota. The explorers had hoped to strike the St. Peter's River and descend it to the mouth, their destination, but had lost their way, going too far to the south, with the result that they came unexpectedly upon the Mississippi. A map of their route was given in the last number. The narrative is now resumed, on the morning after their arrival on the bank of the river, and describes the completion of their journey to the mouth of the St. Peter's (now Minnesota) River, a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony, and closes with an account of their voyage down the Mississippi, on the return journey, as far as St. Louis].

July 22d [*1820*].

At day break all the Indians, excepting one whom we retained as Guide, left us for their village; we followed at 7 A.M., crossed a small stream at its mouth, being about 5 feet deep

& 12 yards wide; followed up, on the margin of the river, seeing many Pheasants, the first I have seen since crossing the Alleghany Mountains, & great number of Pigeons, several of which we shot—crossed a high hill, & leaving sight of the river, struck into some beautiful little vallies, thro' which we held our course, (new objects & interesting ones continually presenting themselves) till we, at sundown, reached an Indian village on the Mississippi, having made 15 miles—during a very hot day.

For the first time since our leaving C. Bluff, our Indian & his squaw this day quarreled—she has hitherto been very politely treated by him & as much so as the Ladies in our most polished societies receive from their husbands. This day our party being increased by our new Indian Guide, the other is ashamed to continue his kindness, in as much as the Indians consider nothing more disgraceful than to wait upon their squaws, but on the contrary make the latter their servants & perform all the most menial duties.

The village we reached this evening has been established about 10 years since by *Tauton Gomony* (Red Wing)[33] a chief

[33] Red Wing, a distinguished Sioux chieftain, was born about the middle of the eighteenth century and lived till about 1825 or '30. His name has been commemorated by the present town of Redwing, Minn., the site of his old village. He was an early example of the self-made American. Not born in a chief's family, he rose from the warrior ranks by sheer force of character to be second in importance only to Wabasha, the most influential chief of the Sioux Nation. "Tauton Gominy," the Indian name given him by Kearny, we can not be sure about, either in its rendering or application. Pike gave it both as "Talangamane" and "Tantangamini," with the French and English equivalents, "L'Aile Rouge" and "Red Wing." (Coues' Pike, i. pp. 342 and 347.) Dr. Foster called him "Tahtawkahmahnee," but translated it as "Le boeuf que [qui] marche" or "The Walking Buffalo." He said he was *also known* as "The Red Wing." (*ibid.*, p. 88.) Beltrami gave the name "Tantangamini," most nearly like Kearny, but seems to have assumed it meant Red Wing. (Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America* (1823), ii, p. 188.) Schoolcraft (1820) speaks of him as "Tarangamani," or Red Wing. (Phila. ed. 1855, p. 163.) Keating, the chronicler of Long's Expedition, makes the name "Tatunkamane" (meaning, he says, "The Walking Buffalo"), but states that it belonged not to the chief but to the chief's son. The chief's own Indian name, he says was "Shakea" ("the man that paints himself red")

& of the *Gens De Lac,* a Tribe of the Sioux; he is about 70 years old & has been much distinguished for his military talents & prowess, as well as his friendship & attachment to the Americans; on our arriving near his village, we were on the point of encamping about 200 yards from it; he invited

and his village bore the name Red Wing, "by which the chief was formerly known." (Keating's *Long's Expedition,* i, p. 260.) Catlin, the Indian painter, who came along ten years later, after the death of the old chief, met his son, whom he calls "Tah-tón-ga-mó-nee, Red Wing's son." (*The George Catlin Indian Gallery:* Donaldson, p. 58.) Whatever may have been the proper Indian name of the chief, he will always be known in history as "Red Wing." He had an active fighting career as the head of an important tribe of the Sioux, called the "Menowa Kantong," translated by Pike as "Gens du Lac," or "the people of the lake." Like his confrère Red Hawk, of the Sisseton tribe, he assisted the British in the War of 1812. These two chiefs and another one known as "The Sixth," with a large party of Sioux, all under the war chief Wabasha, were in the attack on Ft. Sandusky in 1813 (see *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.,* iii, p. 19, n. 25.) Red Wing presumably was present also in the battle on Mackinac Island, in which the American commander, Major Holmes, was killed, for following that affair he came down with a party of 200 Sioux and the Mackinac militia (British) to help in the assault of the post at Prairie du Chien. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* iii, p. 271.) Captain Anderson, a trader who commanded one of the Mackinac militia companies, said Red Wing was "famed for telling events." Judged by his subsequent course, this talent seems to have been ordinary foresight coupled with discretion. After the last-named fight he decided to quit and retire to private life, because, it would seem, of a vision he had that the British would soon be driven away, leaving the Indians to fight it out alone or make peace with the Americans. He gave back the Royal George medal, presented to him by the British, explaining, when pressed, "You tell me the lion on this medal is the most powerful of all animals. I have never seen one, but I believe what you say. This lion * * * sleeps all day, but the eagle, who is the most powerful of birds, sleeps only at night. In the day time he flies about everywhere and sees all on the ground. He will light on a tree over the lion, and they will scold each other for a while, but they will finally make up and be friends, and smoke the pipe of peace. The lion will then go home and leave us Indians to our foes. That is the reason for not taking up my war club. Your enemies will believe me when I speak good words to them." ("Personal Narrative of Thomas A. Anderson," *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* ix, p. 197.) He had already shared in more actions than almost any other Indian, and yet had the reputation of never having been defeated. (Keating's Long, *supra*) Doty, who visited him in 1820, found him possessed of a marked sense of justice, and gives an instance of his great moderation. ("Papers of James Duane Doty," *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* xiii, p. 218.) In 1823 Keating found him

us nearer when some excuse was offered for our declining, on which occasion he was much chagrined & mortified, & expressing it to us & adding that no American had ever before shunned him, we accepted his invitation, & encamped near his *Wig Wams*; after which the officers were invited by him to a Feast & seating ourselves alongside of him, his squaw handed each of us a bason of venison, boiled up with parched corn which we found exceedingly palatable. Whilst eating, the chief, by means of our old Guide, (who speaks French as well as the Sioux language) he told us that what was placed before us was ours, & that he did not wish any returned to him; our share having been much more than we could possibly digest, we sent our leavings to the soldiers; we then returned to our camp, & were followed shortly after by him, accompanied by his squaw, bringing Fish & a deer head. We gave him whiskey & tea & making him a present of some tobacco, he retired, & we went to rest.

July 23rd, Sunday.

During last night we experienced a very severe storm of rain, Thunder & Lightning, accompanied by a heavy gale of wind, & the weather, during the morning, continuing unfavorable, we remained til 2 P.M., previous to which we took our dinner & had as a guest the Indian chief, whom we treated with pork & biscuit; a Boat with some Frenchmen from Lord Selkirk's establishment,[34] on the Red River, like-

much superannuated but still highly respected on account of his former distinguished achievements. He was then about 70 years old, "of hideous aspect, bent under the weight of years and atrocities," says Beltrami, in the same year, "but still, the scars with which his naked body was covered, the dignity with which he wore his buffalo skin, hung on his shoulders like the *glamis* of the Romans," his war club in hand and quiver on his back, gave him "more éclat and majesty than a king." He was so much feared by his people that even in old age he was treated with extraordinary deference. (Beltrami, ii, p. 188.) His granddaughter married Colonel Crawford, a man of commercial activity about Prairie du Chien and Michilimackinac during the War of 1812, who has left descendants in the lake country. (Schoolcraft, *supra.*)

[34] Lord Selkirk's Establishment. The Earl of Selkirk, a wealthy,

wise arrived at this time. Leaving the Mississippi, to avoid its banks, we proceeded to Cannon River, about 30 yds wide, 3 feet deep, & crossing which, encamped on its banks, having made 6 miles. During our march this afternoon it rained harder than I had ever before known & we had much Thunder & Lightning the latter, at one time, we discerned for a few seconds very near & setting a cluster of Trees, as it were, on fire.

At sundown our new Indian was sent back to his village, with some Tobacco, to trade for provisions (our men having eaten so voraciously as to exhaust our late supplies) he returned at 10 P. M., bringing a Fish, & a few quarts of dryed wild Potatoes.

July 24th.

During last night we were very much annoyed by the buz-

kind-hearted but visionary Scotchman, had obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811 a grant of land in the Red River Valley, between Lake Winnipeg and the United States boundary, and wrote some tracts urging the importance of colonizing British emigrants in this distant region and thus checking the disposition to settle in the United States. The first lot of the colonists, about fifty Scotchmen, arrived in the following year. All might have gone well enough with them but for the fact that the agents of the North West Company looked upon the move as a scheme of encroachment on the part of their rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. In the disgraceful strife waged between the two powerful companies the Selkirk colonists became the chief sufferers. Persecuted to distraction by the North West people, their lot became a hard one. The story of their sufferings is one of the most heartrending in the history of this Northern region. In 1819 their crops having been destroyed by grasshoppers, they sent to Prairie du Chien in the following spring for seed. Three Mackinac boats laden with wheat, oats and peas went to their relief, pursuant to a business agreement entered into with contractors at that trading post. This was the first consignment of freight from Prairie du Chien to the Red River Settlement, a noteworthy fact. The boatmen returned across the plains on foot and from Big Stone Lake by canoe. It was some of these men, probably, that Kearny saw, as they would have been just about returning at this time. For further facts about Lord Selkirk's colony, see Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, i, p. 91; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 301-20, and "Reminiscences: Historical and Personal," by H. H. Sibley, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 470.

zing & stinging of the mosquitoes, so much so as to prevent several of us from sleeping—proceeded at 5 A.M., crossed over some handsome Prairies, & thro' beautiful vallies. Forded a stream of clear water, 10 yards wide, 2 feet deep & filling our kegs proceeded 20 miles to breakfast; obtaining which & our provisions being again out, we started & passing over gentle hills & handsome small Prairies we reached a Lake & after taking a drink, proceeded to a second, covering about an acre of ground, & having made 30 miles, halted for the night.

July 25th.

Started at 6 A. M. passing over a few gentle hills & some Prairie, reached the Fort, at the mouth of St. Peters on the Mississippi, not having seen the latter river since our leaving the Indian village, our course having been about *N.W.* At this place we obtained a very comfortable breakfast, & after which meeting with Col. Leavenworth, [35] we dispatched our soldiers

[35] Henry Leavenworth was born 10 Dec., 1783, at New Haven, Conn. In early childhood he removed to Danville, Vt. He studied law at Delhi, N. Y., under Gen. Erastus Root and practiced with him 1804-12. At the outbreak of the war with England he raised a company in Delaware County, which was taken into the 25th U. S. Infantry Regiment, with himself as captain, 25 April, 1812. He was promoted to major in the 9th Infantry, 15 Aug., 1813; brevetted lieutenant-colonel, 5 July, 1814, for distinguished service at the battle of Chippewa, Upper Canada, and brevetted colonel twenty days later for valiant conduct at Niagara Falls, where he was wounded. He was transferred to the 2d Infantry, 17 May, 1815. After the war he obtained a leave of absence, and in the following year became a member of the Legislature in the State of New York. In 1817 he was made Indian Agent for the Northwest Territory, with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. His wife and daughter are said to have been the first white women to travel through the wilderness to this remote station. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Infantry, 10 Feb., 1818. In the following summer he set out from Prairie du Chien with the advance guard of the Mississippi River expedition to establish a military post near the head of navigation. The outfit consisted of 98 soldiers, 20 boatmen, with the requisite supplies, in 17 batteaux and other craft. They arrived 14 Aug., 1819, at the mouth of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River, and forthwith threw up the cantonment which later became Fort Snelling (*see note* 6). Before the permanent buildings were completed Leaven-

H. Leavenworth

with the horses and mules by land (having previously swam the latter over the St. Peters,) & accompanied him in his boat to his new cantonment, 1½ miles from the old one, having made today 5 miles. We were here most kindly & hospitably received & entertained by Col. L. & his Lady, &

worth was transferred (1 Oct., 1821) to the 6th Infantry, and put in command of the troops at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluff). In 1823 he commanded a successful expedition against the Arickaree Indians 700 miles above Council Bluff on the Missouri River. For this service he was specially mentioned by the department commander and commended both by Secretary of War Calhoun and by President Monroe in his annual message. On 25 July, 1824, he completed ten years continuous service in the grade of brevet colonel, for which he received the brevet of brigadier general, as of said date, although actually the promotion was not given him until 1830, owing to a long pending uncertainty in the War Department as to the proper interpretation of the law in its application to brevet grades. He became colonel of the 3d Infantry, 16 Dec., 1825, with station at Green Bay. Late in the summer of 1826 he brought his regiment down the Mississippi to St. Louis and went into camp (19 Sept., 1826) ten miles below the city on the site selected for a new military post. Maj. Stephen W. Kearny, with a battalion of the 1st Infantry, had arrived there two months before, on the abandonment of old Cantonment Bellefontaine, 10 July, 1826. The troops built temporary log cabins for the winter, and the post was given the name "Jefferson Barracks," 23 Oct., 1826, in memory of Jefferson who had died July 4. (See editorial note " The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks." *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls*, iii, No. 2.) In the spring of 1827 permanent stone buildings were begun, under the supervision of Gen. Atkinson, but the 3d Infantry, under Col. Leavenworth, was diverted from the work to undertake a new mission. As soon as navigation opened, four companies of the regiment embarked in keel boats (17 April, 1827) and went up the Missouri for the purpose of establishing, near the mouth of the Little Platte, still another post. On May 8, Col. Leavenworth wrote that he had chosen a site for it on the right bank of the Missouri, and had begun the erection of the new cantonment. He did not know it was to be named for him and was to become the largest and most important of all our army posts. The city of Leavenworth, Kansas, grew up near the post and further commemorates his name. The honor of having so large a part in the establishment of three prominent military posts probably fell to no other officer before or since. In 1829 Leavenworth and his troops returned to Cantonment Jefferson, near St. Louis, where he became post commander. The command of the whole southwestern frontier was given to him in 1834, in which year he took charge of an expedition against hostile Pawnee and Comanche Indians. Out of this enterprise was secured, without a single collision, a permanent treaty of peace. While engaged on this duty he contracted a fever from which

being in the enjoyment of their society, & the hearty welcome & good comforts of their table, imagined ourselves repaid for the hardships we had endured, the difficulties we had met with, & the obstacles we had overcome during our journey from the C. Bluffs—we were likewise cordially received by all the officers at the Post, who were a little astonished at the sight of us, we having been the First Whites that ever crossed at such a distance from the Missouri to the Mississippi river.

The object of the exploring party which I have accompanied from the *C. B.*[36] being to discover a practicable route for traveling between that Post & this (on the St. Peters), the one we have come is not, in the least, adapted for that purpose.

Our circuitous & wavering route (which is to be attributed to the Guide's advice, being in direct contradiction to our opinion, & we being occasionally guided by the one, & then by the other); the immense Prairies we have crossed; the want of timber, which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts were to be found; the high & precipitous Mountains & hills that we climbed over, render that road impracticable & almost impassable, for more than very small bodies. A very great portion of the country in the neighborhood of our route could be of no other object (at any time) to our gov't in the acquisition

he died, 21 July, 1834, at a place called Cross Timbers, Indian Territory. Four days after his death, but before the news of it reached the East, his promotion to the full grade of brigadier general was announced at Washington, the ten years since the date of his brevet rank in that grade having been completed. His death caused profound sorrow, not only in his regiment but throughout the army. A monument to his memory was erected by his regiment, the 3d Infantry. His remains were taken East, but many years later (1902) were brought to Fort Leavenworth and there interred with befitting ceremony. In the truest sense Gen. Leavenworth was a pioneer of the West. The better part of his life was spent on the frontier in the arduous service of helping to prepare a vast domain for settlement and civilization. (Heitman's *Hist. Reg. and Dict. of the U. S. Army*, i, p. 622; Lamb's *Biog. Dict. of the U. S.*, v, p. 3; Forsyth's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205; *Kan. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 577, and sketch by Maj. G. B. Davis, in the *Journal of the U. S. Cavalry. Ass'n*, viii, p. 261)

[36] Council Bluffs.

of it, than the expulsion of the savages from it, & the driving them nearer to the *N.West,* & the Pacific for the disadvantages (as above) will forever prevent its supporting more than a thinly scattered population. The soil generally we found good, but bears no comparison to that I saw between *Chariton &C.B.*

July 26th.

Crossed over to the opposite shore of the Miss. into the *North West* Territory, where I found the bank about 60 feet high; Two thirds of which is (if it may be so denominated) a regular strata of sand, having two or three inches of the exterior hard like stone, but breaking which came to a beautiful white & fine sand; the other third is Limestone, with a considerable mixture of the above sand.

Col. Leavenworth, being a magistrate and authorized to exercise the functions appertaining thereto in the *N.W. Ter'y,*[37] he accompanied a Lieut Green & a Miss Gooding across the river, & there married them, after which they returned, & I paid my respects to the Bride & Groom.[38]

[37] The "Northwest Territory," it will be remembered, embraced the region *east* of the Mississippi. Col. Leavenworth's authority as magistrate was probably derived from his office of Indian Agent of the Territory (*see note* 35.)

[38] Probably the first marriage of white persons living in Minnesota. The bridegroom, Platt R. Green, was the regimental adjutant. He was born in New York State; entered the army 31 May, 1814, as ensign in the 21st Infantry; promoted to 2d lieutenant, 1 Oct., 1814; transferred to 5th Infantry, 17 May, 1815; regimental adjutant from 4 June, 1819, to 1 Sept., 1821; promoted to 1st lieutenant, 27 May, 1820; died 30 June, 1828. (Heitman.) The bride was the daughter of Capt. and Mrs. George Gooding, of the 5th Infantry, who were stationed at the post and were among the first arrivals there. Mrs. Gooding is said to have been the first lady to visit the Falls of St. Anthony. (Forsyth's Journal, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii-iii, p. 155.) Capt. Gooding left the army in 1821 and became sutler at Prairie du Chien, continuing as such till 1827. After his death his widow married John W. Johnson (*see note* 56), of Prairie du Chien, and later lived in St. Louis. (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 442.) Lieutenant Green and his wife remained at the post several years. Their little son died and was buried there. ("Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vi, part 2, p. 95.)

July 27th.

After breakfast, in company with Col. Morgan & Leavenworth, Lieut. Pentland & Talcot, I left camp, to visit the surrounding country; passed up in a *N. W.* direction over rich Prairies, & soon reached the "Falls of St. Anthony."

In viewing these Falls, I must confess they did not strike me with that majestic & grand appearance I had been induced to expect from their description by former travellers—They are, however, very beautiful & probably on account of having frequently seen the immense Falls of Niagara & the high pitch I had wrought myself up to, of witnessing in the savage country a body of water (at a particular point) held in veneration by the neighboring Tribes of Indians, & to which many of them at this day offer their tribute, may account for my disappointment.

The view, as presented to me from the *W.* shore, & a short distance below the Fall, was nearly thus:

About 30 yards from the *E.* shore, & as many below the falls, commences an Island, which runs up a quarter of a mile, probably 20 yards wide, covered with timber which prevented a view of the Falls beyond—Between that island & the *W.* shore the water appears to flow over the Falls in 28 separate or detached bodies; the edge or extremity circuitous, & having many angles, tho' quite regular. The pitch or Fall of water is 16 feet, tho' immediately & for some hundred yards below, the water dashes, with the rapidity of Lightning, over large Limestone Rocks, which have been worn away from the main body at the Fall—above & below these Falls are many rapids, which assist to divers[if]y the scene & render it more terrific. a small Island near the *W.* shore, a few yards below the Fall, separates the body of water & helps to increase its rapidity, by giving to it a smaller channel. The width of the river above the Falls may be about 600 & the banks from that point, approaching each other, leave it not more below than 200 yards.

The roaring of the water may be heard for a considerable

distance, say 10 or 12 miles, tho' the spray did not extend as far as one might have reason to expect it would—

One of the above bodies, being the most prominent, not only as to situation but to attract attention, is about 30 feet long & has very much the appearance of a large wheel turning round with great rapidity

The Falls are 9 by water & 7 miles by Land above the mouth of the St. Peters river.

The Indians consider these Falls as a Great Spirit, & when passing make presents & pay their adoration to them— Some give tobacco; some, whiskey, & all, what they themselves are most fond of—a Drum and sticks were once thrown in & the present accompanied by the remark that as the Great Spirit appeared to be fond of noise, the Drum was offered that he might beat upon it & make as much as he thought proper.

The distance of the Falls of St. Anthony from the mouth of St. Peters river is the same as those of Niagara from the Town of Queenston, & 'tis generally supposed the latter Falls once were at the latter place; The Banks, rocks, &c., &c., at the St. Peters, have as much appearance of a large Fall having been at that place, as those of Queenston have; and why is it not as probable?

I have mentioned the above as a curiosity, leaving it for others to investigate the history of the Falls, I merely vouching for the correctness of the appearance of them.

From the Falls, our party proceded to a beautiful Lake & after firing at some geese left it, & passing by a handsome grove of Tamaracks, (a tall & very straight tree) reached another, where we passed 3 or 4 hours in fishing, & with great success. Returned to camp at sun down.

Lieut. T. took an observation, & found our camp (a mile from the St. Peters) in Lat. 44° 54′ N.

July 28th.

Day clear & pleasant, visited a point of Land at the mouth of the St. Peters river,—where 'tis contemplated building permanent barracks & a fortification—The point is com-

manded by several high hills in its neighborhood, and all of which it would be impossible to fortify.

July 29th.

Started at 9 A.M. to descend the Mississippi—at the confluence of the Miss. & St. Peters rivers is an Island, of about 100 acres, & the waters of both rivers flow on either side, as the tide or water of either may be the highest—The former is at that point 130 yards & the latter 80, wide—Descended the river 4 miles, when we put to at a ravine & walking up which for 200 yards, reached a Cave,[39] being at the mouth 20 feet wide & 10 high; handsomely arched & the roof & floor, being of a beautiful white sand, resembling the finest muscovado[40] sugar—Taking a candle, I commenced entering it, in company with 3 or 4 of our boat's party—we penetrated about 400 yards, frequently oblidged to crawl on our hands and feet, it being so low & then on account of its narrow passage, sidling along & supporting ourselves (having no foot hold) with our backs & hands—at 100 yards from the entrance we passed thro' a room, of about 15 feet square As far as we penetrated we found a rapid stream of water (cold as ice & in which we could not remain for any length of time) occasionally two yards wide, & then narrowing to a foot; In some places it was so deep that we could not touch bottom,

[39] This cave is evidently the same one visited by Capt. Carver in 1767. He wrote: "About thirty miles below the Falls of St. Anthony * * * is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakonteebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance to it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high, and about thirty-five broad. *The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand.* About twenty-five feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent and extends to an unsearchable distance. * * * I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics, which appeared very ancient. * * * The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brim of the river. At a little distance from this drary (*sic*) cavern is a burying place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. [1797], p. 39. The cave was also visited by Pike, in 1807. See Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 198 *et seq.*) Naudowessie was the ancient term applied to the Sioux Indians.

[40] *Muscavado*—unrefined sugar.

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Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, and 15 of Vol. I, and No. 2 of Vol. II, are out of print.

(From an old print.) LITTLE CROW'S VILLAGE.

tho' generally it was not more than 2 foot—The stones we found at the bottom had a mixture of iron in them. The air was quite cold, & the farther we advanced, the more plainly could we hear the roaring of the waters from within, like distant Thunder.

The passengers in the boat, being desirous to proceed with as little delay as possible, we returned to it, not however with our curiosity gratified, as we had wished to penetrate 'till stopped by difficulties we could not overcome.

Four miles below, reached *Le Petit Corbeau's*[41] village of Sioux of 11 lodges, at the head of an Island, & a short distance below a high ridge of Limestone Rock, where we stopped a few minutes to trade for corn; Five miles further brought us to the "Painted Rock," on the *East* shore, having Tobacco, quills &c., &c., scattered round; which the Indians consider a Great Spirit, & to which they, when passing, make presents.

In descending the river grows narrower, & at some places cannot be more than 200 yards wide— —The *E.* shore is generally bounded by high banks, the *W.* with low lands, well

[41] Le Petit Corbeau ("Little Crow"), hereditary chief of the Kapoja band. The name was borne by successive individuals through several generations. This chief was in the council of Sioux that treated with Pike in 1805 for the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's as a site for the fort. (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, pp. 82-84.) He was in the War of 1812, serving with the other Sioux chiefs already mentioned, at the attack on Fort Sandusky. ("Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 269-70.) Major Forsyth, who accompanied Leavenworth on the trip up the Mississippi in 1819 to found the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, in a letter to Gov. Clark mentions visiting Little Crow's village "at a place called the Grand Marie, being 23 leagues above the Red Wing's village, and within five leagues of the mouth of the St. Peter's River. Here I found in the Little Crow a steady, generous and independent Indian; he acknowledged the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter's River to the United States, and said he had been looking every year since the sale for the troops to build a fort, and was now happy to see us all, as the Sioux would now have their Father with them." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 217.) Little Crow made a visit to Washington in 1824. References to him may be found in "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 27; Neill's *History of Minnesota*, pp. 292 and 326; Forsyth's Journal, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 205 *et seq.*, "Documents Relating to the Carver Grant," *ibid.*, p. 252 *et seq.;* and Keating's *Long's Expedition*, p. 283 *et seq.*

timbered—Reached the St. Croix river about dusk, 100 yards wide, flowing in on the *E. side* & being about the width of the Mississippi, at the junction, & its course not varying much, it has frequently been by strangers mistaken for that river, & ascended some distance, 'ere the error was detected—dropped anchor in the middle of the stream, a few yards below, for the night.

July 30th, Sunday.

Weighed anchor at 4 A.M. at which time there was a thick fog on the river, but which was dispersed at 7— Passed "*Red Wing*" (he who had treated us so politely at his village on the 22nd inst) ascending the river in a canoe with his squaw, who immediately recognized me, made them some presents, & proceding passed, at 10 A.M., the mouth of the Cannon river, 25 yards wide, & soon reached the Indian village where we were oversaken by "Red Wing" & halting the boat, we accompanied him to his lodge, & remained a few minutes— Reached "Lake Pepin" (an expansion of the Mississippi, & from 1 to 3 miles wide) at noon. This Lake is considered (on account of having no harbors, & the water easily disturbed by winds) very dangerous to navigate; & but few Boatmen, should there be the least wind, would consent to undertake to cross it: The weather being clear and calm, we apprehended no difficulty— Passed a point of Rocks[42] on the *E.* shore 200 feet above the surface of the water, from which, (as 'tis reported) a squaw[43] being attached to one Indian & betrothed by her parents to another, in a fit of despair took "the lover's Leap," and thus fell a sacrifice to a feeling of sentiment very rarely to be found amongst

[42] "Maiden's Rock" is the name by which this point was known. A picture of it engraved by Seymour appears in Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, at p. 84, and a much better one in Mrs. Mary Eastman's *Dahcotah: or Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling.* (N. Y., 1849), p. 165.

[43] Winona, which signifies "the first born daughter," is supposed to have been the name of the "squaw" referred to by Kearny. Tradition, of course, describes her as "a beauteous young Indian maiden." Her story is told at length by Keating, i, p. 280.

savages. Below this our boat stopped for a short time & several curious specimens of Copper, Flint, Iron & Carnelion were found. We here observed large branches of trees, of the size of a common man's body, much bent, & of a blackish color, & upon close examination found them to be covered with bugs or flies 1½ inches long with small bodies—shaking the branches, they recovered their green appearance & erect positions, these insects leaving them, which we found perfectly innocent & harmless Arrived at the lower end of the Lake (which is 22 miles long) at 11 P.M. where we anchored, in middle of the stream. In the lake we found no current, tho' elsewhere in the river the water generally runs from 1 to 3 nots per hour; which we find of great assistance, in as much as we have a boat of 30 Tons, & as yet having had but little wind to favor us, we are oblidged to depend upon our oarsmen 12 in number.

July 31*st*.

At 4 A.M., with a heavy fog, weighed anchor, passed Chippeway river on the *East* & The Great Encampment[44] on the *W* side; This takes its name from the circumstance of almost all the traders stopping here either in *as-* or *descending* the river, for the purpose of hunting, drying or airing their goods or baggage, or refitting & overhauling their boats; passed "Prairie Le Aisle,"[45] at the bottom of which we found "*Wabasha's*"[46]

[44] "Great [or Grand] Encampment." There is a dispute among historians as to whether or not the "fortifications" mentioned by Capt. Carver in his *Travels* (p. 54 of the London ed.), went by this name. Long's party decided against it. (Keating, i, pp. 276-78.) Kearny's version of the origin of the name is probably right.

[45] "Prairie Le Aisle," a meaningless phrase as it stands, and open to various renderings, as L'Aile, L'Ail, or L'Ile. Pike's text (1807), p. 12, has "L'aile." (See Coues' Pike, i, p. 54, *note* 57.)

[46] WABASHA was one of the principal Sioux chiefs, being considered the head of the seventeen bands of that tribe residing south of the St. Peter's River. (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 214.) The name was borne by three chiefs in successive generations, and is derived from "wapa" (a leaf) and "sha" (red), meaning "red leaf." The Indian name has been spelled in a variety of ways, but the one given was the most common. In French it was usually "La Feuille," and in English "The Leaf," each without the adjective. Wabasha I was famous during the Revolutionary War, and was

Indian village; of 10 lodges; stopped & visited him, he then came on board our boat, bringing with him an

regarded as the head of the Sioux Nation. Wabasha II, his son, is the one mentioned above, a chief equally great, who grew in credit and renown with years. He led the whole Sioux contingent in the War of 1812. His influence over the other chiefs probably gained for him this honor. And yet he professed not to be a warrior, believing that Indians could prosper only at peace with one another and with the whites. He seems to have been induced to join the fortunes of the British against his inclination. After the war the Indians were left in a wretched condition, and in consequence were much downcast. Gen. Cass preserved a touching speech of Wabasha's, made at Drummond's Island in 1815, when Col. McDowell, the British commander, offered him some presents. "My father," he said, "what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains; that our British father would never make peace without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told it was made by our great father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war-chiefs; that it is our duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost? * * * Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can so still." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 194, *note.*) Two years later he was visited at his village by Maj. Long, who says of him: "He is considered one of the most honest and honorable of any of the Indians, and endeavors to inculcate into the minds of his people the sentiments and principles adopted by himself." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 7.) He was seen in 1820 by Gen. Henry Whiting, who describes him as a small man with a patch over one eye, who nevertheless impressed everyone with respect, and whose profile was said to resemble that of the illustrious Conde. "While with us at Prairie du Chien," says Whiting, "he never moved or was seen without his pipe-bearer. His people treated him with reverence. Unlike all other speakers in council, he spoke sitting, considering, it was said, that he was called upon to stand only in the presence of his great father at Washington, or his representative at St. Louis." (Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 44.) It will be noticed above, in the text of the journal, that he seated himself before addressing Kearny's party. This was the year following the establishment of the military post at the mouth of the St. Peter's above Wabasha's village. From the speech we gather that he had not yet become accustomed to the idea of having the Americans on the river above him, although he himself had been a party to the cession of the land to the United States some years before. A few years later, however, he seems to have become reconciled, for Keating chronicles

Indian (a brother-in-law of Col. Dickson,[47] a celebrated British trader) who understood French, & by whom we were enabled to hold a conversation.

The question as to the number of his band having been inadvertently put to him, he immediately appeared to be somewhat excited, & rising, he took a glass of water (as if to prepare himself), then throwing his blanket over his left shoulder & arm, his right one remaining bare, he reseated himself, & commenced a speech which lasted for 5 minutes, displaying a great fluency of words & accompanied with the most easy & graceful gestures.—

The substance of "Wabasha's" speech, as interpreted, was "That he did not relish the idea of the Whites being on the river above him; That he wished them to remove; That he could not force them, but unless they did, he would complain to his "Great Father." This *W.* is a great & powerful chief, & for many years has been distinguished on this river.

Leaving his village, we continued to "La Montagne qui

(1823): "His disposition to the Americans has generally been a friendly one, and his course of policy is well spoken of." (Keating's *Long's Expedition*, i, p. 250) "He was then about 50 years old," says Keating, "but appears older; his prominent features are good and indicative of great acuteness and of a prying disposition; his stature is low; he has long been one of the most influential of the Dacota [Sioux] Indians, more, perhaps, from his talents in the council than his achievements in the field. He is represented as being a wise and prudent man, a forcible and impressive orator." (*ibid.*) Beltrami, the imaginative Italian traveler, who idealized all the Indians he saw, said Wabasha's "appearance was that of a great statesman, wanting nothing to complete the resemblance but an embroidered coat, a large portfolio under his arm, and spectacles." (Beltrami's *Pilgrimage*, ii, p. 181.) Wabasha's village was on the site of the present Winona, Minn. For Wabasha III, his successor, *see note* 50, *infra*.

[47] Robert Dickson was an Englishman who began to trade with the Sioux as early as 1790, and acquired much fame in the early history of the country. He took a prominent part in encouraging the Western tribes to take up arms against the Americans. Yet he was instrumental in saving many Americans from barbarous treatment at the hands of the savages. In 1817 he was brought to St. Louis a prisoner, charged with alienating the Sioux from the United States, in complicity with Lord Selkirk. He was soon afterward released and allowed to return to Canada. (See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, i, 2d ed 1872, p. 390, and Coues' *Pike's Expedition*, p. 117, *note* 23.)

Trempe à l'Eau"[48] (the mountain which soaks in the river) where we anchored for the night— This mountain is near the *E* shore, nearly two miles in circumference, & upwards of 200 feet elevation above the surface of the water, & having a river,[49] falling in to the Mississ. in its rear.

This river we have hitherto found beautifully diversified with Islands, of a variety of shapes & dimensions, & its banks offering to the eye much picturesque & interesting scenery— Today, particularly, we have seen on the *W* shore, for several miles, a succession of hills, about 200 feet high, & a thousand, long, well timbered, on their sides & front, but Tops bare, in the shape of immense buildings & very regular, & divided or separated by ravines, 50 feet wide, leading to the river.

August 1*st.*

Started at 4 A.M.—passed Black river to the East about 100 yards wide at its mouth; met a canoe with 6 Indians ascending the river; they came on board, & one we found to be a nephew[50] of Wabasha, treated them with some whiskey,

[48] Carver says: "About sixty miles below this Lake [Pepin] is a mountain remarkably situated; for it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the river, and looks as if it had slidden from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises immediately from the brink of the water to a considerable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River." (Carver's *Travels*, Boston ed. 1797, p. 39.)

[49] The river is now known as the "Trempealeau," and runs through the county of the same name in Wisconsin.

[50] The nephew of Wabasha, here mentioned, may have been the one who succeeded him as Wabasha III. Although Coues speaks of Wabasha III as the *son* of the old chief, and says he resided at the village below Lake Pepin, we have the authority of Long, who met both the old chief and his designated successor, that the latter was a *nephew*. He says: "Met the nephew of La Feuille [Wabasha] and another Indian, who were on a hunting expedition. My interpreter informed the nephew, *who is to succeed his uncle in the office of chief*, that a party of the Sioux Indians of his village had followed us, to beg whiskey, after we had given them all we thought it prudent to part with. He appeared much offended that they should have done so, and eagerly inquired if his uncle was not at home to restrain them. We gave them some tobacco and whiskey and left them." (Long's *Skiff Voyage* (1817), *Minn. Hist. Colls*, ii., p. 21.) Wabasha III resided at the village mentioned till 1853, and in 1872 was living on the Niobrara Reservation. (Coues' Pike, p. 44, *note* 50.)

when they left us— Passed "Prairie Le Cross;" (so called from the circumstance of a game of ball by that name being frequently played by the Indians at that place) The Prairie commences at the mouth of the river of that name, about 15 yards wide, & extends, on the *E.* shore, about a mile, & bounded in the rear by high hills and cliffs, a mile from the Mississippi— Saw several geese & Pelicans, many of which we fired at, but without success—The afternoon, quite warm, & at 5 P.M. passed the grave of an Indian interpreter, who had been drowned last summer, & whose body about 20 days subsequently was found, suspended to some branches of a tree, by some of the 5th Inf'y, was recognized and interred at this place—[51]

The Sand bars in this river we find to inconvenience [us] very much; for it is impossible, even with the greatest care, to prevent running on them & we are then detained considerably, ere we can get off. Passed the Iowa river on the *West* at 9 P.M., & all on board being desirous of proceding tonight, we continued, winding our course with the turns of the channel of the river.

August 2nd.

At 4 A.M. passed Yellow river, 20 yards wide, on the *West*, & at 5 reached "Prairie Du Chien," where we found two companies of the 5th Regt. established in comfortable barracks, 100 yards square, with 2 block houses at opposite angles, & 200 yards from the water—

The village of Prairie Du Chien, which was first established by the French from Canada in 1770, for the purpose of trade

[51] That part of the 5th Infantry which established the post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, under command of Col. Leavenworth, had passed here the summer before on its way up the river. Maj. Thos. Forsyth, an Indian agent who accompanied the expedition, kept a journal of their voyage. He records that they left Prairie du Chien 8 Aug., 1819. An entry made the following day, when they must have reached the point mentioned by Kearny, contains this statement: "We this day found the body of A. Aunger, and buried it." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 201.) We may reasonably infer this to have been the unfortunate interpreter whose grave Kearny noted.

or traffic with the Indians, is on the *E.* bank of the Mississippi, 5 miles by water above the mouth of the Ouisconsin— It is the most advanced white settlement on this river & may consist of 100 houses, lying in 3 different detachments— These houses are of logs, & are much better calculated to resist the heat of the summer than the winter cold— The Inhabitants about 500, mostly French, very hospitable, & pleased to see and entertain strangers.[52]

The Prairie on which the village is built extends for some miles on the river, & is bounded in the rear by hills 400 feet high, two miles distant from the water; about midway up these hills runs a ledge of rocks & many other indications are to be seen, to lead to the conclusion of their having once been the boundary of the river.

We were politely received by the officers at this Post, & our baggage having been carried into the Cantonment, we were invited to live at the Mess during our stay at the Post.[53]

[52] Prairie du Chien village began as a rendezvous for Indians of various tribes who came thither to trade with one another. By common consent the place was regarded as neutral ground, where the different tribes, however hostile to one another, might visit and trade in safety. The French began to settle there in 1737, much earlier than Kearny says, and set up a trading post. He overestimated the size of the town. According to the statements of Judge Lockwood, a pioneer citizen, and of Maj. Long, who made a careful count, it had probably not over 200 people. Nearly all of French blood, inmixed with Indian, they were good Indian traders and voyagers, but not very enterprising citizens. Not until 1835, after the Indian troubles had subsided, did the Americans settle there in any considerable number and make it a self-respecting town. (See Lockwood's "Early Times in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 114 *et seq.*)

[53] "Fort Crawford" was the name of the post. It was built in 1816 by the Rifle Regiment, on the same spot, the top of a mound, where had stood a stockade of the same name, erected by the Americans in 1814, captured by the British and held by them till the peace of 1815. During the several years intervening between the completion of the fort and the time Kearny wrote, the commanding officer of the post was Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby Morgan, the senior officer accompanying our party. The fort was abandoned in 1826 through the instrumentality of Col. Snelling, who disliked Prairie du Chien for differences he had had with some of its principal inhabitants, and the troops were removed to Fort Snelling. The following year, on account of fresh Indian troubles, two companies were returned. The fort was thereafter continuously garrisoned till 1831, when a newer fort of the same name was erected in another part of the town.

(From an old print.)

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN AND FORT CRAWFORD.

August 3d.

Passed the day partly in Camp & partly in the village— In the evening visited some *Wig Wams* where I found a very pretty squaw, who during my visit fell into fits.

This afternoon about 30 of the principal warriors & leading men of the Winnebagos arrived at the village.

August 4th.

Having exchanged boats, & obtained one of about 12 Tons, with 6 oarsmen, left Prairie Du Chien at 9 A.M., with a fresh & fair breeze— Passed the Ouisconsin river on the *East.*

This river is about 600 yards wide at its mouth, & connected with the Fox river, (between which, there is but one mile portage) forms the communication from the Upper Lakes to the Mississippi. Passed Turkey River on the *W.* & two miles below on the *East* shore an old deserted village of the Sioux, 20 lodges, on a handsome Prairie & bounded in the rear by high Prairie hills— During the day had frequent showers of rain—saw many Pelicans, which at a distance make a very handsome shew—

Having no cabouse on board, we were obliged to put to, at 7 P.M. (on the *W.* shore, under a high bluff) to allow our men to get their suppers in good season—

After dark endeavored to gig some fish, but were not able to succeed—put out our lines, but to no purpose—made today about 40 miles.

August 5th.

The mosquitoes we found last night very troublesome— Started at 4 A.M. passed "Bear Creek" on the *West* & at breakfast time stopped at a small Island, where we saw a large flock of pigeons, & secured 8 of them for our dinner. At 10 A.M. stopped at a settlement of traders, (where we

(Lockwood.) (See also Long's Voyage of 1817, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 52 *et seq.*) The commanding officer at the time of Kearny's visit was Capt. J. Fowle, 5th Infantry. He is mentioned by Schoolcraft, who came along, with Gov. Cass, just three days after Kearny.

found Dr. Muir,[54] late of the army, with his squaw & 2 children) opposite a "Fox village" of 17 lodges, & 100 Inhabitants— On a high hill, at one end of the village, we saw a small building, covering the remains of Mr. Dubuque,[55] who

[54] Samuel C. Muir, born in District of Columbia, became a surgeon's mate in the 1st Infantry, 7 April, 1813, and was honorably discharged 15 June, 1815. He was reinstated 13 Sept., 1815, in the 8th Infantry; became a hospital surgeon's mate 31 Oct., 1817; a post surgeon 18 April, 1818, and resigned 1 Aug., 1818. He again became a post surgeon 28 Sept., 1818, but was dropped for good 27 July, 1819. Col. John Shaw, in his "Personal Narrative," says: "About this period [1815] Dr. Muir, of the United States Army, whom I had seen at Fort Johnston in 1814, was at Prairie du Chien, when his life was threatened, and he was saved by a young Sauk squaw, whom he married, and by whom he raised a family. Dr. Muir often related to me the incidents of his wife's heroism in saving him, but the particulars I have forgotten. Like most persons connected with the army, he was too fond of liquor; otherwise he might have risen to distinction and usefulness." (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 224.) A note on the foregoing, by L. C. D[raper], says Muir was a Scotchman, a good physician, who had been educated at Edinburgh; that while trading with the Winnebagoes a plan was concocted to kill him, "when a young squaw apprised him of it, and secreted him in a cave and supplied him with food till the alarm passed away. In gratitude to his deliverer, he took her with him as his wife, and settled at Galena and raised several children. Dr. Muir was afterwards among the first settlers at Keokuk, where he carried on the Indian trade, and where he died [24 Sept., 1832], after which his family joined the Indians." (*ibid.*)

[55] Julien Dubuque is the man for whom Dubuque, Iowa, is named. His ancestor, Jean Baptiste Dubuc, born in 1641 in Trinity Parish, Diocese of Rouen, son of Pierre Dubuc and Marie Hotot, married Francoise L'Archevêque in 1668 at Quebec. Their son Romain, baptised in 1671, married in 1693 Anne Pinel. Their son Noel-Augustin, baptised in 1707, married in 1744 Marie Mailhot. Their son Julien was baptised in 1762 at Saint-Pierre-les-Becquets. Julien Dubuque emigrated to the province of Louisiana in 1774 and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1785. He very soon obtained great influence over the Indians, for he became familiar with their conjurations and magic. He learned of the existence of the lead mines on the west of the Mississippi, discovered in 1780 by the wife of the chief Peosta, of the Foxes. Realizing the value of the discovery he tried to obtain a grant of the land from the Indians, who had steadfastly refused to make concession to any white man. By means of his almost supernatural power, as the Indians believed, he succeeded in securing a grant of seven leagues along the Mississippi River and three leagues in depth, at a grand council of the Indians, held at Prairie du Chien in 1788. The location of the grant was about 500 miles above St. Louis. To gain the goodwill of the Spanish possessors of the soil he named the plant "The Mines of Spain", and in 1796 sent a petition to the Governor of Louisiana, Baron de

died in 1808, & who obtained from the Spanish government (previous to the cession of this country to the Americans) the title to the "Lead Mines," which commence one mile from this place— These mines are at present partially worked by 5 or 6 of the "Fox Indians."

We were politely received by Dr. M. & the traders— On leaving them, passed two canoes, with Indians, descending the river, & were accosted by them with "*How de do, How de do, How de do*" a salutation I find every Indian on the Mississippi acquainted with—

Landed, at dark, on a sand beach, on the *E.* shore—put our hook & line, & caught the largest Eel I ever saw.

August 6th. Sunday.

Proceded, at 4 A.M., with a strong head wind— Passed a Keel Boat, from St. Louis, on its way to Prairie Du Chien,

Carondelet, setting forth his claims. It was referred to Andrew Todd, who had a monopoly of the Indian trade of the upper Mississippi. Todd replied that he saw no reason why Dubuque should not be given the land provided he would not trade with the Indians without Todd's consent. Dubuque then proceeded to operate the mines, using Indian labor. It is said that such was his influence that he made the Indians *work*. Out of his lead and peltries, which he shipped semi-annually to St. Louis, he amassed a large fortune. Nearly all early travelers upon the Mississippi visited his mines. He died in 1810. His devoted Indians followed his body to the grave in a wailing procession, and for years thereafter it is said they placed a lighted torch on it every night. Certain of them dutifully made annual pilgrimages to the tomb. (*Les Canadiens de L'Ouest* par Joseph Tasse, Montreal, 1878, pp. 239-62.) A visit to it by Thomas L. McKenney is thus described in his article "The Winnebago War of 1827" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 202): "Arriving at DuBuques sixty miles below the Prairie, we stopped, and visited the grave. This grave is on a high bluff, or point of land, formed by the junction of the Black River with the Mississippi, on the West side of the latter. A village of Fox Indians occupied the low lands south of the bluff—of these Indians we procured the guide who piloted us to DuBuque's last resting place. The ascent was rather fatiguing. Over the grave was a stone, covered with a roof of wood. Upon the stone was a cross on which was carved in rude letters 'Julien DuBuque, died 24th March, 1810, aged 45 years.' Nearby was the burial spot of an Indian Chief." (See also "Indian Chiefs and Pioneers of the North-West," by Col. John Shaw, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 221, Schoolcraft's *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, Phil. Ed., 1855, p. 169, and *Dubuque Claim* [pamphlet], St. Louis, 1845.)

belonging to "Mr. Johnson,[56] the Factor," loaded with stores, &c., &c., Saw on the *W.* shore several deserted Lodges, & near them a furnace, where the "Foxes" run their Lead, they having mines in this vicinity— Shortly afterwards passed the mouth of the "Wapibisinekaw," about 150 yards wide, & flowing in to the Mississippi from the West. Near this we saw many geese but could not approach to within shooting distance, & a flock of 3 or 400 Pelicans, one of which was shot, but he recovered & flew off 'ere we reached him.

The Banks of the river & the Lands in the rear have assumed a different character from that they exhibited above— The soil, near the river, is clay & the Prairie Bottoms are extending a mile from it, bounded by high hills well covered with timber, & shewing very many beautiful situations for Farms & Buildings— Anchored, at dark, on the *E.* shore, having been detained considerably today in getting over Sand bars that we frequently, inadvertantly, run on— Caught several cat-fish, Pickerel & Turtle.

August 7th.

Started, at 4 A.M., Passed on the *East* shore a high Prairie, for the distance of 8 miles, & reached the "Fox" village[57] on the West, of 19 lodges, where we stopped a few minutes, and traded for some corn.

[56] John W. Johnson, a native of Maryland, was the U. S. factor with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. The factories which he had charge of, says Judge Lockwood, "were established by an Act of Congress previous to the war of 1812, for the humane purpose of preventing the British traders from extortions on the Indians, and of counteracting British influence over them, which they exercised through the traders." From the standpoint of the Indians it would doubtless have been well had they received equal protection from the American traders, who were accustomed to pass off on them goods much inferior to those of British make. Johnson was successively justice of the peace at Prairie du Chien and chief justice of the county court. He married the widow of Captain George Gooding, mentioned in *note* 38. In 1832, after being relieved of his duties as factor, by the winding up of the factory system of Indian trade, he removed with his family to St. Louis, where he died a few years afterwards.

[57] The Fox village was near the site of the present town of Princeton, Scott county, Iowa. (Coues, p. 26, *n.* 31.)

Five miles from this village brought us to the head of the "Rapids De Roche," & entering them, we descended with but little difficulty only striking & sticking on the rocks three times (which was very well, considering we had no Pilot) & reached the foot of them at 1 P.M., they being about 18 miles long— Four miles from this brought us to Fort Armstrong,[58] at the lower end of Rock Island. During the day we were much opposed by strong Head winds, & a severe rain, which increased the difficulty of navigation thro' the Rapids, the current of which however we did not find more than 5 nots per hour.

Rock Island, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, & $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide, lies near the *E* or Illinois shore, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Stoney, or Rock River, & is well covered with timber & of good soil; The Fort on it was built in 1815, & is a neat work, with 3 block houses, & capable of resisting any attack from Indians. It forms a part of the chain of Posts on the Mississippi, & is eligible situated, being in the neighborhood of many tribes, & the most war like & powerful on the river. 'Twas on this Island that two of the "Winnebagos," in the month of April, shot two of our Soldiers. The murderers having been demanded of the Chief or Principal men of that Tribe, were a month since brought in by them & are now confined in the Fort, with a ball & chain attached to their arms & legs— When examined, they made a candid confession of their crime, &

[58] Fort Armstrong was built in 1816 and named in honor of the then Secretary of War. A post there was needed as a protection against the restless Sac and Fox Indians, then numbering about 11,800 persons, living in villages on both sides of the river near the island. A historical sketch of it by Mrs. Maria Peck may be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, i, 3d Series, p. 602. A good description of the works is given by Long in his 1817 manuscript, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii. The appearance of the fort on the beautiful wooded island was highly romantic. Gov. Ford in his *History of Illinois* compares "the white-washed walls and tower of the fort perched upon a high cliff, as seen from a distance, to one of those enchanted castles in an uninhabited desert, so graphically described in the Arabian Nights." Col. Morgan of Kearny's party had been the commanding officer at the post in 1816 and 1817. After the Black Hawk War the fort, was abandoned. Since then an ordnance post has occupied the island (Rock Island Arsenal) and is to-day one of the most important manufacturing arsenals in the country.

only demanded immediate death— I visited these fellows, & found one of them in consequence of confinement much indisposed.—

August 8th.

In the afternoon, in company with Lieut. Col M. & Lt. P., crossed over to the "Fox Village" of 30 lodges; It is on the *E.* shore, opposite the Fort, & about 300 yards distant— We obtained horses, saddles & bridles, from the Indians, & rode to the "Rock River," 4 miles from its mouth & distant from the Fort about 3 miles—we passed over a very handsome country, having on our right an extensive rich Prairie, reaching to the Mississippi, & on our left, a gentle hill, well covered with corn, beans, &c., &c. & thickly settled—on the Rock river we found the Principal village of the *Sac Nations*[59]— They can here muster 1,000 warriors, & they are considered the most efficient of any of the Indian warriors, being better armed, mounted, & equipped. We found them at a Feast, of which Col. M. participated, the heat prevented me from attending. Saw, in front of one of the chiefs lodges, some scalps, which have lately been taken from the "Sioux," the Sacs having surprised & murdered a party of that Tribe, consisting of 3 old men, 3 women, & 3 children. These two nations are now determined to go to War, & most probably some bloody battles will be fought, 'ere their difference is accommodated. We returned to the Fort at sundown. The day has been excessively hot & oppressive— Mercury at 96 in the shade.

[59] This Sac village, according to Major Long (1817), was by far the largest Indian village along the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony. Its Indian name was Makataimeshekiakiak, translated Black Sparrow Hawk, which became contracted into "Black Hawk." It contained about 100 cabins and had a populati on of between 2000 and 3000. It could furnish over 800 warriors all armed with rifles or fusees. The famous Black Hawk was the leading chief here at this time. Both the Sacs and the Foxes cultivated vast fields of corn in this region. These tribes, whose names are usually linked together, were allies in war but otherwise had only a nominal connection. The Sacs, who outnumbered the Foxes, dwelt on the East side of the river, and the Foxes on the West.

August 9th.

Six chiefs[60] of the "Sacs & Foxes" dined with us, at Maj. Marston's,[61] the commandant of the Fort, & shewed by their manners & conduct that politeness is not confined exclusively to the Whites. They ate & drank agreeably to our customs, & tho' not much used to a knife & fork, or a wineglass, they displayed not the least awkwardness in the managing of either.

We had intended leaving here today, but the oppressive heat thro'out (the mercury being at 97) prevented us.

August 10th.

Having purchased, for Six bottles of whiskey, a Canoe, 25 feet long, & 2 broad, we left "Rock Island," at 6 A.M. our party being now reduced to Lieut. Col. Morgan, Lieut. Pentland, myself & two waiters, one belonging to the Col, the other my own, & each of us seated on the bottom of the boat, with a paddle in hand to work with.

Passed "Rock River" on the East, a handsome & extensive low Prairie on the West;—a small river, called "Pine Creek." In the afternoon, reached "Prairie Island," near the W. shore, which we found 10 miles long, & encamped at sundown, a few miles below the extremity of it.—made today 45 miles.—

[60] Black Hawk was one of the number in all likelihood.

[61] Morrill Marston, a native of N. H., entered the army from Mass. as 1st lieutenant in the 21st Infantry, 12 March, 1812; promoted to captain 26 June, 1813; transferred to 5th Infantry 17 May, 1815; received brevet of major 15 August, 1814, for distinguished service in defence of Fort Erie; dismissed 27 September, 1824; died 9 March, 1831. (Heitman.) After his service at Fort Armstrong he was commanding officer at Fort Edwards, further down the river, where one of his duties seems to have been to stop and search all boats ascending the river to the Indian country to ascertain whether or not they were carrying whisky, a contraband article in the Indian trade. Dr. Meeker recounts that on a trip up the river his party was brought to by a shot from the fort across the bow of his boat. Marston, when he found they had liquor aboard, threatened to confiscate it. On the assurance that it was to be used by Meeker's own men at the lead mines he relented, and, says Meeker, "as was the custom of the day, the brandy soothed all difficulties." ("Early History of the Lead Region", by Dr. Moses Meeker, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., pp. 278-9.)

August 11*th.*

Rose at the first dawn of day, & as we had all been much tormented with the mosquitoes since our landing, we started without delay— Passed the Ayauwa[62] river on the *W*, & shortly afterwards stopped to breakfast. After which the wind being somewhat favorable, we hoisted sail, but had not proceded 3 miles, when it died away, & the Sun shone out so intensely hot, that notwithstanding our being considerably hardened & our anxiety to move on, we were oblidged to stop til about 3 P.M. when we again started, & continued our course 'til dark—40 miles.

August 12*th.*

We were off again at day break, Passed "Pole cat river" on the W. some Traders house, a short distance below, & immediately afterwards Flint Hill (so called, from its composition), which we found 6 miles long & about 100 feet high. Stopped at old "Fort Madison,"[63] on the W. shore, where are the remains of nine chimneys, & some Pickets, & scattering stones, that indicate a military work once existed here. Reached the "Des Moines Rapids" at sundown, & descended, occasionally striking on a Rock, tho' sustaining no injury, passed two boats, with provisions, for "Prairie Du Chien," & arrived at "Fort Edwards" at 12 at night, having made 65 miles.

[62] "Ayauwa" is one of the multitudinous early variations of the name *Iowa.* Nineteen of them are cited by Coues in his *Pike's Expedition* (p. 22) and he includes neither Kearny's rendering or the favorite "Ioway" of the early frontiersmen. Among the most nearly unrecognizable are "Aaiaoua" and "Aiavvi", although "Ajoe" and "Yahowa" are pretty well masked. See also Lewis and Clark, ed. 1893, p. 20.

[63] Fort Madison was built in 1808, according to the best authority, by Zachary Taylor, then a 1st Lieut. in the 7th Infantry. (Coues.) The post was attacked by Indians twice in 1813. In November of that year it was evacuated and burned on account of the failure of the garrison to receive needed provisions. The ruins were visited by Long in 1817, who found "nothing but old chimneys left standing, and a covert way leading from the main garrison to higher ground in the rear, where there was some kind of outwork. In the old garden were found peach, nectarine and apple trees." The present city of Fort Madison, the seat of Lee county, Iowa, and which occupies the old site, grew up in later years.

August 13th. Sunday.

Fort Edwards,[64] on the *E.* or Illinois shore, about 1 mile above the Des Moines River & 3 below the Rapids, is in Lat 40° 21′ N. 'Tis a small square work, with 2 block houses, & capable of containing a company of soldiers— Built in 1815 on a high commanding eminence, & surrounded by a rich & handsome country.

This Post was abandoned 18 months since, but in consequence of the murder of the 2 soldiers at Rock Island, by the Indians, & the representations made by the Factor, of the hostility of the neighboring Tribes, a Lieut. with 20 men were sent here in May last.

August 14th.

In company with the Sub agent, visited the Sac village, a mile below the Fort, & on the Borders of the river. They here count about 100 Warriors. Purchased some sweet corn from the chief's squaw, & after looking at their lodges, 13 in number, their cornfields, &c., &c. returned to the Fort, & on my way passed the remains of the Cantonment[65] where the 8th Infy. were quartered in 1815 & '16.

August 15th.

At 8 A.M. we embarked on board our canoe, & descended one mile, to the mouth of the Des Moines, where we found the

[64] Fort Edwards, nearly opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, was begun in June 1816, the labor being done by soldiers, and was not quite completed when visited by Long in 1817. He described it as "a palisade work constructed entirely of square timber. It is intended to contain two block houses, situated in the alternate angles of the Fort; a magazine of stone; barracks for the accommodation of one company of soldiers; officer's quarters; hospital, storerooms, etc." The troops could not have remained there very long for Kearny says the post was abandoned 18 months prior to his visit. Major Forsyth in 1819 found living in the evacuated fort some families who were entitled to land for services rendered during the War of 1812. On account of the insults offered them by drunken Indians in the neighborhood, Major Forsyth recommended to Gov. Clark that half a company of soldiers under a subaltern be stationed there. The suggestion seems to have been followed, as Kearny's next entry shows.

[65] Cantonment Edwards, to which Kearny refers, was the precursor of Fort Edwards. It was half a mile s. w. from the fort and was abandoned when the new works were completed.

Steam Boat, "Western Engineer,"[66] commanded by Lieut. Graham,[67] who came here a week since, for the purpose of taking observations, &c. Put our baggage on board, & fastened the canoe to her. Near this saw a coffin containing the bones of an Indian tied fast to the centre of a large tree which was done at the request of the deceased to preserve his fame after the extinction of his body.

Proceded at 10 & run about 15 miles when about 1 P.M. we found ourselves on the Sand bar & from which we endeavored, but without success, to extricate ourselves. The boat has but few hands & those sick with fevers.

August 16*th.*

At 8 A.M. we succeeded after much exertion in getting off the Sandbar & in endeavoring to cross to the opposite shore to reach the channel, we ran on another bar about 200 yards from the one we left, & found ourselves even faster than before.[68]

At 2 P.M., aware of the uncertainty of the Steam Boat reaching St. Louis, and our party being desirous to proceed without loss of time we took to our canoe, & having a favorable breeze hoisted sail.

[66] Steamboat "Western Engineer." See *note* 12.

[67] James Duncan Graham, born 1799 in Virginia, was appointed cadet, U. S. Military Academy, 19 June, 1813; promoted to 3d lieutenant, Artillery Corps, 17 July, 1817; 2d lieutenant, 14 October 1817; 1st lieutenant, 8 September 1819; transferred to 4th Artillery, 1 June 1821; to 3d Artillery, 16 August 1821; brevet captain, Topographical Engineers, 15 January 1829; brevet major, 14 September 1834; major, 7 July, 1838; brevet lieutenant-colonel, 1 January 1847, for valuable and highly distinguished services, particularly on the boundary line between the U. S. and Canada; lieutenant-colonel, 6 August, 1861, and Corps of Engineers, 3 March, 1863; colonel, 1 June, 1863; died at Boston, 28 December, 1865. Graham's service as an army engineer was of the highest order. Some of his most conspicuous work was in connection with the settlement of international boundary disputes. He was a member of several U. S. boundary commissions. (Cullom's *Biog. Reg. etc., U. S. M. A.*)

[68] These particular sand-bars were a source of frequent trouble to navigators. Pike's 70-foot keel-boat got shoaled at about the same place on his voyage up the river in 1805. A good deal of engineering work was done there in after years.

Two miles below stopped at a settlement[69] (the first we have seen since leaving Prairie Du Chien) & engaged Four Men to assist the Steam Boat from her present situation. Passed the "Wakendaw River" on the West at which point we saw large flocks of Turkeys—after which reached "The Two Rivers,"[70] so called from the circumstance of their entering the Mississippi 100 yards apart. Stopped here and took some coffee, when we re-embarked, and it being after dark, passed "Hannibal," without seeing it, and at 12 at night landed and laid down to sleep, all of us being quite weary and tired.

August 17th.

Proceded at 6 A.M; and shortly met a boat ascending the river which we boarded; found her destined for Fort Edwards. The Factor and some officers and Ladies on board.

Passed Salt River on the left, & landed a short distance below at "Louisianna," apparently a thriving place and the capital County Town of Pike County. The Inhabitants we found mostly sick with fevers, & a keel boat being about starting for St. Louis we determined to take a passage on board. This boat is freighted with furs, and worked by six Frenchmen, commanded by a young American, whom the former pay no regard nor respect to. Passed "Clarksville" on the *West;* at dark all on board went to sleep leaving the boat to drift at will, not however 'til a watch of two had been detailed, whose duty I found consisted in sleeping more soundly than the others, the bow and stern being appropriated to them.

[69] The settlement was probably Wyaconda or Waconda, so-called from the river of that name, which Kearny gives as the "Wakendaw River." The place is now La Grange, Lewis County, Missouri, a little above Quincy, Illinois.

[70] "Two Rivers" was a couple of miles above a spot that became the site of a "paper town" that rejoiced in the name of "Marion City", so Coues tells us. Streets and lots galore were laid out to accommodate a great population, which however failed to take advantage of the opportunity. The place is supposed to have inspired Charles Dickens with the idea of "Eden", the immortal boom town in "Martin Chuzzlewit."

August 18*th.*

On awaking in the morning we found we had progressed but slowly during the night, not having made more than 4 or 5 miles.

In the morning passed by "Quiver"[71] on the West and at noon reached "Capo Gray."[72] At this point the river is quite narrow, not more than 300 yards wide. On the West side are the remains of old "Fort Independence,"[73] erected during the late war for the protection of the Frontier Inhabitants. 12 miles brought us to "Little Capo Gray" where we saw several settlements, & it being dark all hands retired to rest, the same ceremony of the appointment of watch having been gone thro' as the night previous.

August 19*th.*

At day break passed the "Illinois River" on the East. A short distance below this commences a ridge of Rocks (about 1200 feet high, very irregular, and forming the most antic appearances that can possibly be imagined), which continues as low as "Portage De Sioux," the shore on the west being low and sandy. This Town is prettily situated & is not more than 2 miles to the nearest point of the Missouri,

[71] Not "Quiver", but *Cuivre*, the French word meaning *copper*, was and still is the name of the large stream and island observed by Kearny. Many travelers, including Lewis and Clark, have fallen into the same phonetic trap. It was known also in early days as "Rivière aux Boeufs", or Buffalo River. Pike called it that. The stream comes into the Mississippi as the dividing line between Lincoln and St. Charles Counties, Missouri.

[72] "Capo Gray" should be *Cap au Grès*. This is another French term that lent itself to conversion by Americans into an English phrase of similar sound but different meaning. Even the French fell into the habit of rendering the name "Cap au Gris", mistaking *grès*, a noun, meaning sandstone, for the adjective *gris*, meaning gray. It was also called "Cap au Gré," an obvious error. Similar corruptions of early French terms in this region might be instanced. "*Vide Poche*" (empty pocket) an ancient name given the village of Carondelet (now a part of the city of St. Louis) became anglicized in many mouths into "wheat bush."

[73] "Fort Independence" was one of the many temporary stockades erected in St. Charles County during the war of 1812. It is probably the same defence that is mentioned by Shaw under the name "Fort Cap au Gré."

being 8 above its mouth. Finding our progress to be but slow we left the Keel Boat and again taking to our canoe passed the Town of "Alton," on the Illinois side, having a large Sandbar in front of it; 3 miles further brought us to the mouth of the Missouri, which we welcomed most cordially as an old acquaintance, and at 5 P.M. reached St. Louis having come down the Mississippi from the St. Peters, a distance of 900 miles.

(*Conclusion of Part I.*)

PETITION OF DANIEL BOONE AND OTHERS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF FERRY [1805]

To the Honourable Cort of Quarter Sessions for the District of St. Louis.

The Undersigned Petiteoners (Inhabitance of the Femme osage & St. Andrew) Humbly Request that it may Pleas the said Honourable Court to alow & Direct a ferry to be appointed & established on the Missouri River a fit place of landing below the Tavren Rock & opposit to the said Femme osage Settlements & that Mr. Alexander M. Cortney may be appointed by the said Honourable Court to Keep and hol the said Ferry Exclusively with the same previleges astablished to other ferrys in the Territory.

Richard Hainds	Daniel Boone
Daniel M. Boone	John Lindsay
William Hays	James Vanbiber
Boon Hays	Joseph hainds
David Darst	Joshua Dodson
Timothy Kibby	Stephen Ayres
Thomas Smith	John McCortney
Jonathan Bryan	Alexr Graham
James Bryan	George Gordon
John Davis	Ludwell Bacon.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF FRIEDRICH MUENCH.

By Julius Thamer Muench.

(Read at a meeting of the Society, 17 December, 1903.)

There are few things more interesting than a study of the conditions that led to the emigration of large numbers of educated young Germans, from the beginning to the middle of last century, and their settlement in this country. While the limitations of this sketch will not permit more than a casual allusion to these conditions, yet I shall endeavor to give, in connection with the life of Friedrich Muench, a sufficient glimpse of the influences that surrounded the early part of his career, to show how closely the ideals for which he and his companions contended, resembled those of the founders of our government, and how easy it was for them to fall in with the spirit of our institutions and become excellent American citizens.

Friedrich Muench was born in Niedergemuenden, near Darmstadt, in the province of Oberhessen, on the 25th day of June, 1799. The place of his birth is one of those quiet, rural German villages, which has not changed, probably, either in character or number of its inhabitants since that date, and will hardly have undergone any material changes in the course of another hundred years. Had it not been for the spirit of fermentation and political unrest, which marked the early part of the nineteenth century, and influenced the life of all German universities, making them hot-beds of revolutionary ideas, it is doubtful whether Friedrich Muench's life would have been different from that of his ancestors, who, for four or five generations preceding his birth, had lived the quiet life of country preachers. That the interests of earlier Muenchs, however, extended in some things beyond the mere routine duties of their profession, is shown by the church register kept

FRIEDRICH MUENCH.

by Friedrich's father, George Muench, in which he supplemented the record of the birth of each of his children by what might be called a poetical prayer, expressing his joy at the arrival of a new member of his family, and his hopes for the child's future.

As Friedrich was one of seven children, and his father's income did not, at any time, exceed the magnificent sum of 500 gulden (about $200) per year, we may well imagine that life at the parsonage was frugal in the extreme. George Muench, the father, is described as a man of simple habits and straightforward character, who spent his leisure time in tending the small garden plot connected with his house, pruning his trees and looking after his bee-hives. The assistance which his sons were required to render him in this work served, in a measure, to qualify them for the hard task they were later to take upon themselves, in founding a new abode in the American wilderness. All the early education of the children was received at home, and it was not until he was fourteen years old that Friedrich's father decided to send him to the Gymnasium at Darmstadt for two years, his limited means making it necessary that the boy should complete the regular three years' course within that time. Accordingly, the tall, uncouth country lad went to Darmstadt and, within the prescribed time, had succeeded in filling out all the gaps in his early education, and in preparing himself, with honor, for entrance to the university. But the constant study required to do this had made him old beyond his years, and inclined him to reflection on the serious problems of life at an age, when most boys devote at least one half their time to play.

In the fall of 1816, Muench, then seventeen years old, entered the University of Giessen. It was here that he received the impressions and formed the alliances which so strongly influenced his whole life; which tended to strengthen and firmly mold his character. The deep humiliation inflicted upon their country by Napoleon had roused the better element among the younger Germans to fierce resentment. Men like Koerner had sung their inspiring songs of a freed

and united fatherland, and had died fighting for their ideals. In the universities throughout Germany, student organizations had been formed, which, differing in some respects, were yet actuated by the same strong love of country and the firm conviction that only in union lay strength to avoid a repetition of the shame of past decades. Out of the idea of a united monarchical Germany, the plan for a united country under a republican form of government was evolved; this was to be brought about by a general uprising, headed by the student societies, against the array of petty tyrants, who were at that time ruling over a motley collection of states of all sizes. Some of the "Burschenschaftler" (as they were called), went so far as to advocate assassination, as a justifiable means of getting rid of distasteful officials, but this view, although held by some of the most intellectual men in the organizations, was not generally concurred in, it being considered unworthy of the lofty ideals for which they were striving, as well as dangerous to the cause.

The society at Giessen was formed by Charles Follen, during the year in which Friedrich Muench entered the university. Its members were known as "Die Schwarzen" (The Blacks), on account of the plain black garb affected by them, and to distinguish them from the members of the older organization, who, on account of their dissipation and rather loose habits, were known as "Die Wilden" (The Wild). Considerable hostility sprang up between the two bodies from the start, since the new society, in addition to its efforts for German unity, waged a lively crusade against the antiquated fencing and drinking customs of the older. The result was a succession of duels, which Follen, who had great skill with the sword, although opposed to duelling on principle, accepted, merely to show his antagonists that his opposition to the practice was not the result of cowardice. Follen was the life and soul of the "Bund der Schwarzen." He seems to have been a man of wonderful intellect and great personal magnetism, who exercised a singular control over his followers. His influence over Muench, who was but seventeen years old at the time, was strong and lasting.

Among other topics discussed at their regular meetings was the subject of religion, and it was Follen who first spoke to Muench of Christ as "The Ideal Man" and not as a divinity. Muench, whose religious teachings at home had been liberal and on broad humanitarian, rather than orthodox, lines, after some hesitation and reflection, accepted his friend's views on this point. This must not be taken to indicate that either of these men was an atheist. On the contrary, both were imbued with deep and genuine religious feeling. Follen at the time of his death, in 1840, was a Unitarian minister in Boston, and Muench was accustomed to occupy the pulpit in a church near his home, for several years after coming to this country. Even after he ceased preaching, he remained the consistent opponent of the followers of the doctrine of materialism.

Follen's brother, Paul, who retained the latinized form of the name "Follenius," entered the university in 1817, and he and Muench soon became bosom friends. On their vacation trips to Niedergemuenden, he met Muench's youngest sister, whom he afterwards married.

Muench had chosen the study of theology, both because of his father's express wish, and because it was cheaper, better adapted to his limited means, and offered earlier opportunities for obtaining a settled income, than any other profession he could have adopted. In 1819 he was admitted to the public examination, and before the end of the year he was a duly ordained minister of the gospel. Follen had graduated as a doctor of laws in 1818, and this left Paul Follenius alone at Giessen to keep up the spirit of liberty inspired by his brother.

Little of practical value had come of any of the patriotic organizations, while Muench was at Giessen. Great difficulty was experienced in arousing among the masses that love of freedom and self-government, which was essential to the success of their plans. Beyond a few isolated acts, such as the useless killing of the poet Kotzebue, by Sand, and the attempted assassination of a Hessian minister of state, by an apothecary's assistant, nothing was accomplished, and even these acts did not result in the general uprising which was expected of them. The "German Michel" was not yet pre-

pared for self-government, nor was he, in 1848, nor will he, probably, ever be. The success of Bismarck in bringing about, by a few masterful strokes, the very union which the brightest intellects of the country had tried for years to educate the masses up to, and the tremendous popularity of this union, would seem to indicate that the Germans, as a whole, take more kindly to being forced than to being coaxed into new conditions.

After leaving Giessen, Muench was for a time engaged as a private tutor. In the following year he was called home to Niedergemuenden to assist his father, who was growing old and feeble, in the discharge of his duties. For five years he occupied the subordinate position of an assistant, utilizing his ample leisure in completing his education in those branches which, on account of the shortness of his course, he had been compelled to neglect, and devoting himself chiefly to the study of the philosophers, among whom Kant was his favorite. On the death of his father, in 1825, the position thus made vacant was conferred upon him. In the following year he was married, and it seemed for a time as though all the hopes and ambitions of college days were to be forgotten in the quiet humdrum life of a rural parsonage. After four exceedingly happy years of married life, his wife died, leaving him to care for two infant children, a girl and a boy.

Meanwhile, Paul Follenius had taken his degree in law had soon after married Muench's sister, and was enjoying a lucrative practice in Giessen. Many higher positions were open to him, but his early ideals and associations had rendered him wholly unfit for the life of a German official. His friendship for Muench had remained as before, and many visits were exchanged between Giessen and Niedergemuenden. At some of these the subject of emigration had been brought up, but so long as there seemed a chance to carry out his ideas at home, Follenius was unwilling to leave. When, after, 1830, it became apparent that all hopes for political changes were ended for some time to come, the subject was brought up again and discussed in all seriousness. Muench's original idea was to take over only a few congenial families and to settle to-

gether in some one of the States, preferably Ohio, where some of their acquaintances were already located. Follenius, however, true to his desire to benefit as large a number of his countrymen as possible, advocated emigration on a large scale, to which suggestion Muench finally yielded.

Accordingly, in 1833, the "Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft" (Giessen Emigration Society) was organized. The object of this society was, by gradual settlement, to found a new German state in some American territory, and to draw to this state all that vast number of Germans to whom conditions at home had become intolerable. The place first selected was Arkansas, the climate and soil of which had been represented to them as similar to those of Spain. Fortunately, a commission sent out to investigate returned in the nick of time to prevent them from making this mistake. Missouri was then chosen as their destination.

Feeling greatly encouraged by favorable comment from all sides upon their undertaking, the organizers of the society went so far as to draft a set of laws for the government of the future colony. Finally, when five hundred members had been secured from all parts of Germany, the lists were closed, and the Spring of 1834 was determined upon as the time for sailing. As all the party could not be gotten ready at the same time, it was decided that Follenius should take one division over by way of New Orleans, while Muench was to follow a month later with the second, by way of Baltimore. After a number of misfortunes and some minor embarrassments, Follenius' party finally got under way.

During the month that intervened before the day set for his own departure, Muench suffered a number of sad misfortunes, as well as annoyances at the hands of petty officials, who compelled him to pay ten per cent. of his fortune into the public treasury, under a dead letter law, resurrected for the purpose, before issuing his passport to him. His second wife, whom he had married a year and a half after the death of the first, had become dangerously ill after the birth of her first child, and only just succeeded in getting ready to start on the appointed day. Her father and an elder brother had died

but a short time before, and her younger brother, a boy of fourteen years, who had come to bid them farewell, was killed in the door of her home by a horse which her husband's brother was riding. The feelings, therefore, with which they left all that was familiar and dear to them, may be better imagined than described.

After they had gotten fairly started, and while on the road to Bremen, chicken-pox broke out among the children and threatened a further delay, but they succeeded in reaching their destination before the day set for sailing. Arrived at Bremen, they were informed that the ship on which they had contracted to take passage, had been detained, and was not expected to arrive for some weeks. Here was a new quandary! The owners of the ship, who had been careful to provide for a penalty for every day's delay caused by the colonists, were not so ready to take steps to lessen the unpleasant consequences of their own breach of contract. It was only after a week of negotiations and the employment of counsel, that a compromise was effected, by the terms of which Muench's party was to be quartered on an island in the Weser River at the cost of the ship owners, until the arrival of their vessel.

Following another vain wait of four weeks, arrangements were finally made to take passage on the American ship "Medora," which brought them safely to Baltimore, after a poor and uneventful voyage of seven weeks. From Baltimore, which they found oppressively hot under a fierce July sun, the party went by wagon to Wheeling, West Virginia, from which point the remainder of the trip to St. Louis, the meeting place agreed upon, was to be made by boat, along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They found the change from hot, rough roads to the cool river breezes delightful.

On arriving at Cincinnati, they went on shore for a little relaxation from their confinement on the boat. Here Muench was surprised at being addressed in German by a small, elderly man, who asked him if his party were not the second detachment of the Giessen Society, and, on receiving an affirmative reply, and being, in turn, questioned as to what he knew about this undertaking, said: "I can tell you a great

many things about it of which you yourself are still ignorant." He then proceeded to relate that the first division of the Society had met with innumerable reverses; that Follenius' child had died at sea; that, upon his arrival at New Orleans, cholera had broken out among the members of his party, many of whom had died during the trip up the Mississippi; that Follenius himself had been taken sick and compelled to remain at Paducah, Kentucky, and that the balance of his companions, upon reaching St. Louis, had disbanded. This news came as a bolt from a clear sky, and did not tend to elevate the spirits of Muench's party. Through all the trials and disappointments of the voyage he had kept up their courage by holding out to them the prospect of an early reunion with the other members of the society, and the certainty of the success of their plan, thereafter, by the efforts of a united colony. Now his most cherished hopes seemed to have been shattered, and there was nothing left to do but to proceed to St. Louis, and, after an accounting with the first division, decide on the best way out of a bad situation.

On Muench's arrival in this city, then a plain country town, with a number of block houses still left on Second Street, and giving no evidence of future greatness, it was found that the books of the first division had not been carefully kept, and that there was a shortage in the amount which had been deposited here to the credit of the second division, by the remnant of Follenius' party, while he himself was lying sick at Paducah. The result was that the two leaders later contributed enough out of their own funds to reduce the deficit to seven or eight dollars per head.

Not having heard from his brother-in-law in St. Louis, Muench proceeded to St. Charles to meet him. There they talked over their project fully, and, realizing that it would be impossible ever again to get enough of their party together to carry out their original plans, they decided to buy individual homesteads and to settle down to the life of American farmers, taking with them as many of their companions as cared to go. Warren County, the place where Duden, the

writer from whom they received their inspiration to come to this State, had lived for a time, was selected as the most favorable place to locate.

Accordingly, after returning to St. Louis, and settling their financial affairs, Follenius and Muench and several others of their party, proceeded to a locality about fifty-six miles northwest of the city and a mile from the home of Baron Bock, the man who had, at Cincinnati, informed Muench of Follenius' misfortunes: and here they bought adjoining farms, on which they lived until the time of their death.

There was a small two-room log-house on Muench's place, and about fifteen of the one hundred and twenty acres comprising his farm had been cleared. It being too late in the season to raise their own supplies, they had to rely on what they could get in the vicinity, which was little enough. The time until the following spring was employed in making much needed improvements. The accounts of Duden had led them to believe that but half their time would be taken up in tilling the soil, and that the remainder could be devoted to recreation and to educational pursuits. That this was *not strictly true* they soon learned to their sorrow. Muench did devote a considerable part of his time to the teaching of the flock of children that had come over with him, in order that they might not remain entirely without education, and in order to afford himself some relaxation from his physical labors, but the time used for this purpose had to be made up in the early morning and late evening hours. Sundays and rainy weather furnished them their only opportunities for reading and recreation. To fill out the long winter evenings and days when the weather would not permit him to venture out, Muench learned to make baskets and to roll cigars, often trading a winter's accumulation of the latter for his supply of coffee or other provisions. When his oldest son had grown up sufficiently to take some of the hardest farm work off his hands, he tried growing grapes and became one of the pioneers of grape culture in the State. Although he did not succeed in raising Rhine wine in Missouri, as he had hoped, his efforts in this direction were so far successful as to have given the

State a permanent industry. His vineyard was his hobby, and in order to induce others to emulate his example, he wrote the "American School of Grape Culture," which was published about 1859.

In spite of the hard work of those early years, the intercourse between Muench and his brother-in-law, his brother George, who had come over in 1837, and other families of education in the vicinity, which had come to be known as the "Latin Settlement," served to keep up his intellectual activity. In addition, he had already begun to write essays and comments on questions of the day for various German publications. These were supplemented by a work in pamphlet form, written originally for the instruction of his German neighbors and later published in English, entitled "A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism." Then followed several novels and, at intervals, poems. The greatest part of Friedrich Muench's work, however, consists of the essays and short articles on timely subjects, already mentioned, which appeared, originally, under the *nom de plume* "Far West."

In 1858, at the solicitation of a Mr. G. L. Braie of New York, he wrote a book called "Der Staat Missouri," the object of which was to bring about an increase in German immigration to this State. In April of the following year he went to Germany in the interest of this book, and this gave him a long-wished for opportunity to once more visit the land of his birth, and to see again the scenes and the friends of his youth. He also saw more of the country than he had seen before he left it. He found the early ardor of some of his schoolmates so far cooled that they would speak of old times in whispers only, and seemed apprehensive lest his visit should, in some way, place them in a bad light with the government. Incidents such as these convinced him more firmly than ever that he had been wise in casting his lot with this country. Just before returning home, he wrote a pamphlet called "The Future of North America, and Glimpses of the New World from the Old," which was published in Bremen. A further philosophical treatise written after his return, is his little

book called "Sensual and Spiritual Views of Life," which was followed by an "Ethical Treatise" for use in schools, as a substitute for religious text books, and his "Five Lectures on Religion, Superstition and Intelligent Humanity."

Although taking an interest in politics only in its broader sense, he was successively elected to the offices of road overseer and justice of the peace, which latter brought him an average income of fifteen to twenty dollars a year, during the eight years he held it. In 1856, after living quietly on his farm for twenty-two years, he came out of his retirement to take an active part in the campaign that was then going on. With Hecker and others he addressed mass meetings in a number of the larger Eastern cities. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Convention that nominated Lincoln for the presidency, and again took an active interest in the campaign of that year. In 1862 he was elected a member of the state senate, and served during the following four important years of Missouri's history.

Friedrich Muench's appearance at this time is described by a contemporary as that of a patriarch. He was tall and erect, with strongly marked features, a prominent aquiline nose and piercing dark brown eyes, which did not lose their lustre until they were closed in death. He was a sort of Nestor among the members of the legislature, among whom he was known as "Father Muench." In debate he was clear, logical and forceful. His early training and the fourteen years or more he spent in the pulpit, had made the style of his oratory didactic, rather than persuasive. On the slavery question he was conservative, being one of the few German Americans who were advocates of gradual emancipation. As soon as the war was ended, he was in favor of an early restitution of full civil rights to the defeated south. He became a member of the Liberal Republican party, and was a staunch supporter of Governor Gratz Brown.

From whatever side we view Friedrich Muench, whether as a writer or as a public speaker, his chief claim to distinction rests on his qualities as an instructor. His object, apparent in his books and pamphlets, was to solve problems of general

interest; his newspaper articles, which appeared chiefly in the *Westliche Post* of this city, whose editor, Dr. Emil Preetorius, was his life-long friend, were designed to elucidate questions of the day, which the average reader would not readily understand; and in his public speeches he aimed to give his audience the benefit of the observations and experience of his long life. His sentences are always crisp and concise. He used few figures of speech, and we find in his writings none of those ponderous periods, of which German men of letters are so fond.

After his term in the Senate, Muench held no public office, except that of a member of the State Board of Immigration, to which he was first appointed by Governor Fletcher, and which he held until his death. It was a purely honorary position, but it gave him an opportunity to do effective work in the interests of German immigration.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, two of Muench's sons had entered the Union Army. The younger fell at the battle of Wilson's Creek, while the other remained in the service until the end of the war. Out of a large number of children, only six lived to be married, four sons and two daughters. To only the youngest of his son was he enabled to give the benefits of a college training.

One evening, in December, in the year of 1881, after having gone to his vineyard to trim his vines, Friedrich Muench failed to respond to the summons which, for almost fifty years, had called him home from his day's work. A searching party made up of his son and several of his grandchildren, found him lying beneath one of his favorite vines, dead, his hand still grasping the shears with which he had been at work. His end was as peaceful as his life had been, and came as he had often wished it would come; suddenly and without warning. Only a few days before, he had written a correspondence for the *Westliche Post*, which showed no diminution of his mental powers.

They buried him on the top of the highest bluff on his farm, beneath the shade of tall cedars, in accordance with his desire, close to the remains of his loved ones, who had preceded

him in death. By his side now rests all that is mortal of his wife, the faithful companion who, born and raised amidst refined surroundings, left home and friends and family, and all that was dear to her in a land where she had been happy and contented, and, without complaint, followed him to an uncertain future in a New World, true to her promise, "for better or for worse." She devoted herself to lessening his burdens, and did it gladly, and she believed with him in his motto, that "the noblest thing of all is to have devoted an entire lifetime to the betterment of mankind."

A TRIBUTE TO CAPTAIN STODDARD.

St. Louis, Sept. 30th, 1804.

Amos Stoddard, esqr., first Civil Commandant of Louisiana.

Sir.

The Representatives of the several Districts of Louisiana having gone through the painful task of drawing up their Remonstrances & Petitions to Congress, cannot agree to separate without indulging in the pleasure of expressing to you Sir in the name of the Inhabitants of Louisiana their unfeigned acknowledgments for your Judicious, Attentive & exemplary dispensation of Justice within this Territory during your Administration, and the readiness which you have always shown to contribute to the public Good.

May Louisiana ever feel the same Regret in parting from its chief Magistrate—And may genuine Philanthropy—solid Parts unblemished Disinterestedness continue to characterize the Governors of Lousiana.

In behalf of the Deputies from the different districts we have the honor to be Sir

Your devoted
& very hbl servants.
Ch Gratiot President
P. Provenchere, Secty.

THE BEGINNING OF SPANISH MISSOURI.

Instructions, D'Ulloa to Rui, 1767.

General Archives of Indies. Seville. Papers Coming from the Island of Cuba. Louisiana. Correspondence of Governors. (Translated from the Spanish by Miss Ysabel Sandoval.)

Instructions for the expedition of the part of Illinois. which is in charge of Captain Don Francisco Rui.[1]

[1] Don Francisco Rui is known to us only in connection with this expedition. His name, even, has been the subject of much uncertainty. Col. Auguste Chouteau, in his deposition appearing in Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 1, page 126, calls him Mr. Rious. Billon calls him Rios and Rive. Professor Fortier uses the name Rios, and Gayarré, Rici. The Baron Villiers du Terrage prints it Riu. It is easy to see how the written name might be taken to be Rui, Riu, Rici, or Rive. The transcript from which the foregoing translation was made is clearly written Riu. Another transcript of the same orignal is plainly Rui. This latter has been chosen as the correct form on the faith of statements of persons of Spanish blood, that the form Riu is not Spanish, while Rui is common.

Just when this expedition started from New Orleans is not known. Aubry, in a dispatch dated 30 March, 1767, said: "In spite of my observations upon the insufficiency and the scattering of the troops that he has, M. de Ulloa has decided to send forty men to the Illinois."

They were probably sent soon after that date and arrived here about the first of July.

The time of their departure can be more definitely fixed. Aubry writes, 8 March, 1769, that because of the rigorous season, causing ice in the upper river, the want of money, soldiers and merchandise for the Indians, he was unable to fit out an expedition, but that he had sent a *courrier* by land to convey to Saint-Ange and to the Spanish commandant the orders of Ulloa for the Spanish troops to return to New Orleans.

Du Terrage writes that the Spanish commandant of Missouri arrived at New Orleans, 9 May, 1769, and announced that the evacuation had

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[The Society wishes to express its thanks to Miss Ysabel Sandoval, Joseph Wheless, Esq., and Professor Winthrop Holt Chenery, for valuable services in the translation of Spanish documents. Mr. Wheless has kindly made translations of a number of important and interesting documents which will be printed in future issues of the Collections.

been made peaceably, and that M. Saint-Ange had taken measures to guard all the posts in spite of the small number of men at his disposal. The date of the departure of the Spanish troop may, therefore, be fixed as about the middle of April, 1769.

As to what the Spanish commandant did to carry out the orders given him, we know little. It is fair to presume that he did not disregard their plain commands. He was told, as we will see later, to build two forts, one on the north and one on the south side of the Missouri river. It is a matter of common knowledge that he did build a fort on the south side of the river, in St. Louis County, where Fort Bellefontaine was established in later years. Aubry, in one of his letters, speaks of the establishment of Missouri, and Du Terrage, in a note to these words, says that the establishment of Missouri is now Saint Charles. And the Spanish Commandant said that Saint-Ange had taken measures to guard *all the posts*, so implying that there were more than two—Saint Louis and the one south of the river. It seems to be a fair inference that the orders were obeyed, and that two forts were built, and that Fort Charles the Third was at the present site of St. Charles. But inferences are unsafe foundations for historical statement.

How thoroughly the work was carried out is somewhat doubtful in view of Aubry's letter to Gen. Haldemand under date 4 January, 1768, in which he says that twenty Spanish soldiers, a sergeant and a *garde-magasin* have revolted, at the Illinois, against their commandant, and even attempted to assassinate him; that after stealing a boat, a quantity of flour and other property belonging to His Catholic Majesty, they have taken refuge at the post of Natchez.

Nor was this Rui's only trouble. In the *Memoire Justificatif*, issued by the planters and merchants of Louisiana after the expulsion of Ulloa on 29 October, 1768, we find the complaint that: "The unfavorable impressions already conceived against them [the Spanish] by the savage nations, which have led not only to insults but to threatening actions against M. *Rici*, the Spanish captain commanding at the Illinois, would array them on the side of the enemy in case of war. While on the contrary, these people are always ready to march with the French soldiers without asking against whom they are going to fight."

And in the same document we find it stated that: "In spite of the opposition of Sieur *Rici*, the Spanish captain sent by M. Ulloa to the Illinois in the capacity of commandant, the traders have gone this year to the [Indian] villages, but in reduced numbers. But this is the last exercise of their expiring privileges, as M. Ulloa has granted to five or six individuals the exclusive trade of that country, which our government held open to general competition."

Captain Pittman (*The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London,1770, p. 16), says: "Don Antonio D'Ulloa arrived at New Orleans about the middle of the year 1766, but refused to take the government of the colony on him until he should have a sufficient armed force to establish his authority. In the beginning of the year 1767, two hundred Spanish soldiers were sent from the Havanna, but these he did not think sufficient to enforce his commands in a country where the Spanish

1st. Out of the 88 men left in the Spanish troops, Captain Don Francisco Rui will take two Sergeants, 6 Commanders, 1 Drummer and 35 men, including one of the 2 Cadets which will make altogether 44 men, and the Second Lieutenant of the troop, Don Fernando Gomez will go with them.

2nd. The expedition will be made in two boats of 24 to 26 oars each, and although it is customary in this country that the troops should guide them, getting a complete set of oars, as they are not accustomed to that kind of work. I have ordered that on each boat 10 oarsmen will go after the troop, as each boat will carry 31 men to row, including the Commanders and the Drummer and 5 or 7 men will remain resting on each boat so that they will take turns in the work, which is very hard at the beginning, especially the first 5 or 6 days as they are not accustomed to it, neither do they know how to row, but in a short time they will become handy and experts in it. This is one of the principal work that the troop will have to do at the Colony, and only the two Cadets will be except from doing this including the Sergeants, and although these latter may be willing to row a while, to relieve the others and to get warm, when it is cold, all the rest of the men will have to row and do each others' work, without any exception of being ranchers or assistants.

3rd. The boats will be in the entire command of the officer who is going in the boat with the troop, and two French officers will go in with the expedition. The families of the married soldiers with their wives, and the Sergeant who is going to guide them will go in the second boat, and he will see that this one will not get far apart from the first boat.

government was held in the utmost abhorrence and detestation; he sent about sixty of these troops to erect two forts, one opposite Fort Bute, on the mouth of the Iberville, and the other on the west side of the Mississippi, opposite the Natches; the remainder were sent in the autumn of 1767 to build a fort at the mouth of the river Missoury; but the commandant was forbid to interfere with the civil government of their settlements in the Illinois country where Mons De Saint Ange continues to command with about twenty French soldiers."

4th. The passengers on board will be a French officer, who will act as engineer, Don Guido Du Fosat,[2] another, Don (here is a blank), Interpreter and expert, who knows the different tribes, a Chaplain Don (here is a blank), who is the Chaplain of the Navy, a Surgeon Juan Bautista Balleau,[3] a carpenter Jose Maria Suares, a mason Jph. Balboa, a stone

[2] The Chevalier Guy de Soniat du Fossat was born in the Chauteau du Fossat in Guienne in France, 17 September, 1727. He entered the French army in 1746, and was made lieutenant the next year. In 1751 he came to Louisiana as lieutenant in the Detached Corps of Marines. He was stationed at New Orleans and married there in 1753 Francoise Clodine, daughter of Maturin Dreux, a worthy ancestor of Charles Dreux, the first confederate officer killed in battle in the war between the States.

The Chevalier du Fossat was appointed captain in 1759, and was sent to the Illinois, where his services as an engineer were in demand, that same year. On 6 June, 1760, Du Fossat was witness to the marriage of Clement de Lor de Treget and Catherine Marin, at the Chapel of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres. He was recalled to New Orleans in 1761, where he remained in the French service until 1767, when by permission of his government he entered the service of the King of Spain. In 1769 he was made Captain of the Battalion of Louisiana by O'Reilly. In 1772 he retired from active service, and in 1775 he was appointed to the civil position of Alcalde, which he seems to have held until his death in 1794. In 1778 he bought from the Ursuline nuns a plantation on the Mississippi below New Orleans, since known as the Villere plantation, where he made his home. It is memorable as the scene of Jackson's victory over the British on 8 January, 1815. M. du Fossat was the author of a *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana from the founding of the colony to the End of the Year 1791*, which was translated and published a few years since by his descendant, Charles T. Soniat, Esq., of New Orleans.

Most of the facts stated above were derived from Mr. Soniat's sketch of the life of his ancestor.

[3] Dr. Jean B. Valleau, a Frenchman from La Rochelle, received from Saint Ange, 2 January, 1768, a grant of land at the southwest corner of Second and Pine Streets. Later, he bought the quarter of the block adjoining on the south, making his property extend along Second Street, from Pine to Chestnut. Why he established himself at St. Louis instead of at the new fort is not known. He died 24 November, 1768, having first made his will which is given in full in Billon's Annals, Vol 1, p. 60. The will was made 23 November, 1768, "in the presence of De Rive, civil and military governor of the Missouri part, being at present in this post of St. Louis."

The original of Dr. Valleau's will should be in the St. Louis Archives, but, if there, it is for all practical purposes inaccessible. The transcript in the Recorder's office shows the name, appearing above as "De Rive," more like De Rui. *St. Louis Archives*, Vol. 3, p. 226.

cutter Jph. Ulaboro, and several apprendices and laborers in this kind of work, a hostler Francisco Lopez.

5th. Each one of them will take their ration of sufficient funds for their maintenance during the trip, and at the same time the boats must be together the whole trip, and try to get along the best way possible avoiding any misunderstandings, so as to keep union, order and harmony.

6th. Care must be taken that the sailing in the mornings will be at daybreak,[4] without leaving this matter to the will of the masters, who always have some excuse to be delayed, and it is necessary to take this precaution until the "Punta Corta"[5] has been passed, and in this way avoid any desertion, which is generally caused by the unpleasant misunderstandings among the people.

7th. Upon passing before the English Forts of "But"[6] on the Ivervila River, and the newly established one at Nat-

[4] M. Robin (*Voyages dans l'Interieur de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1807, Vol. 2, Chap. xiv), gives this account of the methods of travelers on the rivers: "On part régulièrement au point du jour; de deux heures en deux heures on fait un pause pour reprendre haleine; c'est ce qu'on appelle fumer la pipe. Trois fois le jour, au moins, on distribue le filet (mesure de tafia); on déjeûne ordinairement à bord, mais toujours à midi on descend à terre jusqu' à deux heures pour diner et se reposer. Dès qui le bateau est attaché sous de doubles amarres, chacun s'empresse de rassembler le bois pour le feu; on prépare le diner; c'est cochon salé ou du boeuf avec du riz ou du gru (mais concassé); on est aussi toujours approvisionne de biscuit; les maîtres ont en outre de la volaille, et souvent du gibier. Le soir on debarque au coucher du soleil sur un campement près duquel le bateau est en sureté, et ou les engagés peuvent en être tres-près en cas de mauvais temps. Le souper fini, chacun d'eux, se couche autour du feu qu'on a soin d'entre tenir pendant la nuit. Ceux des engagés soigneux ont toujours un peau d'ours et une ou deux couvertures, selon la saison; quelque temps qu'il passe, même dans les plus grands froids, ils ne dorment pas autrement; ce qué est remarquable, ils ne sont enrhumés."

[5] Punta Corta (Point Cut-off) is the Spanish for Pointe Coupée, about twenty-five miles above Manchae, where there was a French settlement.

[6] In December, 1766, the British re-occupied the post at Bayou Manchae. A small stockade was built by a party of the twenty-first regiment (the Scots Fusileers); It was called Fort Bute. In December, 1768, the British evacuated and demolished the fort. It stood at the junction of the Iberville River with the Mississippi. There was a trading station there in 1770 and later.

chez, the boats must not land, but they must pass along, without letting anyone go ashore, but they must wave their flags and the pennants and when the boats are near there, care must be taken that they will not stop before them or in their vicinity.

8th. The two shores of the River up to Ivervila belong to Spain, but from Ivervila on, only the right side belongs to Spain going down on the River, and care must be taken that on this side the stops will be made, and not on the left side, so as not to let the English people get used to enter into the land of Spain.

9th. Every day after having stopped for the evening the rations of bread, meat and soup will be distributed by weight and measure, and the troop or crew will not be allowed to take provisions at their discretion, as it is customary among the French, and any one who does so shall be duly punished.

10th. All disorders and abuses must be avoided, particularly what the French people call Filé, which is to give a quantity of brandy (Aguardiente), to the marine of the troop on the trip or when landing, as this will bring drunkenness and disorder. This liquor is not allowed on board, nor is it included in the rations; the sailor or soldier who is accustomed to use it can bring it for his own account, and even then he is not allowed to drink it to excess.

11th. On Sundays and holydays the Mass will be said on land, before daybreak, and everyone must attend, and when Mass is over, the Salve will be sung as it is done on the war ships of Spain; in the evening after having landed, or on the boat before landing, the rosary will be recited and the prayers; thus trying to keep up all the good Christian customs of Spain.

12th. At the camps good order must be kept and at least two sentinels all night, so as not to be taken by surprise by any savage band. Those going out hunting must avoid going far from the camp, and upon their return their weapons will be examined to see whether they are loaded and ready, and these will be given to two officers at each side of the camp

where the sentinels will be. The guns must be kept covered so as to protect them from the dew.

13th. As there is lack of experience in the things and events that may arise during this trip and which must be taken into consideration, due to the danger that there is on different places on account of the savages, and also on account of the strong current of the River, in these cases the advice of the French officers must be taken, as they know the way exactly, because they have taken the same trip.

14th. The object of this expedition is to keep for His Majesty the royal dominion which belongs to him, and at the same time keep up the friendship and good will of the savages, in the same way as the French have done. This is the principal object, and if for some reason or cause we should not succeed in this purpose we have failed to comply with the wishes of his Majesty. The best thing to do is to use the proper means which are most suitable for the purpose, and to avoid everything that would seem against our purpose, therefore we must have a great deal of prudence, good judgment and consideration, not only toward the Savages, but also with the army and the employees, as a man who is not pleased can in more than one way spoil our plans and intentions, and in order that this will not happen, we must be very considerate and patient with them, as it is known that the man who leads or directs must have more patience and tact than those who obey, and each and every man has a different disposition and character, more so than the officers, and it is hardly expected that these kind of men will control their dispositions to suit those who command, therefore great care must be exercised in this connection.

15th. As per custom and rules of Spain the Government of the place where the army is going cannot be a military government[7] as this is against the rules, and therefore we

[7] Mr. Billon (Billon's Annals, Vol. 1, pp. 55-57) gives from documents formerly in the St. Louis Archives, but which seem now to be lost, extracts from two papers regarding appeals to the civil authority, one by Lieutenant Gomez against a stonemason working at the fort on the southside of the

must not expect that the troops will do what they ought to as an obligation. If things are directed to them in that way they will never do anything, because they are not strictly expected to do it, but with kindness they can be persuaded to do what is needed, more so when they become convinced that they are doing this for some purpose and that they will be paid.

16th. The others of the people who have gone there on a salary will be lonely enough, being in a strange country and away from their people, and if they are not treated right by the superior officers they may get dissatisfied, and for this reason, even if they are not soldiers, attention must be shown to them, and therefore, in these places what we need most is policy and politeness instead of military ruling.

17th. We must exercise a great deal of tact and care with the Savages, as it requires a certain extent of sagacity, craft, and policy, for although they are brutal in their habits and customs, they are exceedingly delicate and sensitive in their dealings with others, and they wish to be considered with a certain distinction and regard, and in this way they limit the dominion of their properties and lands, and we must make them believe that we go into their lands without any claim of right, but because they want us to go.

18th. Upon the arrival of the equipment at Illinois, everything that has been outlined will be carried out, and the French Commander for that place, Mr. St. Ange,[8] will arrange for

river, and another by Mr. Joseph Barelas, a cadet engineer of the garrison of the said fort. In both, Gomez appears to have been at fault. In the latter the witnesses testified: "that in their frequent disputes Gomez was in the habit of applying to Barelas offensive epithets, as horse, mule, animal, etc., which Barelas could not resent, Gomez being his superior officer. They all agreed that Barelas was faithful and trusty in the discharge of his official duties." In this latter document the names of twenty-three men at the fort are given.

Nothing seems to have been done in either of these cases, beyond the taking of testimony.

[8] This was Louis Saint Ange de Bellerive who succeeded Neyon de Villiers as commandant at the Illinois. He surrendered Fort Chartres to Stirling, 10 October, 1765, and removed his headquarters to St. Louis. He remained commandant until 20 May, 1770, when he was relieved by Piernas.

everything with the experience he has had, taking all the documents necessary for the best success.

19th. The necessary instructions have been given to Mr. Guido DeFosat in regard to the work at the Fort[9], as he is acting as engineer, which Fort must be inclosed by a stockade, for the present, 35 to 40 yards front by same width, enough to make within the necessary lodgings for the officers, the troops and the other people. This stockade must be made of wood, expeditiously, and with as little expense as may be possible, although it must be constructed solidly and so that it will be lasting.

[9] A second letter of instructions to Rui was sent by d'Ulloa to St. Ange under seal. Much of it was repetition of the one printed above, but some of the additional matter is interesting:

"M. Saint Ange, an experienced man in handling the savages will give his advice as to what shall be done with them, but as he does not know the object of this establishment, and as there is no need for him to know it, he may suggest that the forts be established in Illinois instead of Missouri, but his views in this matter need not be considered."

"Since this place (*parage*) [Missouri] is totally uninhabited and deserted, it will be advisable to carry from Sainte Genevieve or Pencur [*Pain Court*= St. Louis] in Illinois all that will be needed, unless it is brought from the city" [New Orleans].

"At the mouth of the river [Missouri] two forts must be built, one on one side and the other opposite. The one on the northern part, the upper side, must be the largest, and there the building of the stockade must be begun and the wooden houses erected. As soon as this is finished the work will be started on the lower side, towards the south, where everything that is necessary will be done on a smaller scale; on the upper side twenty-five men will remain in garrison, including two sergeants, two corporals and the drummer; but fifteen men, including two corporals will remain on the lower side; this will be in charge of Lieutenant Don Fernando Gomez, subject to Captain Commander."

"The upper fort will be named 'Don Carlos Tercero' [King Charles the Third], and the other one 'Principe de Asturias, Don Carlos' [The Prince of the Asturias, Don Carlos], which names are very appropriate as they are well known through the Colony."

"The two forts are to be established in Missouri, therefore it will be advisable to keep the good will of the savages; for this purpose it will be wise to discuss with the Commander of the Illinois [Saint Ange] the best way to give these savages presents."

We must remember that Illinois, as the word is here used, lay west of the Mississippi River, and was separated from Missouri by an imaginary line running somewhere between Saint Louis and the Missouri River.

20th. The goods which are sent for presents for the savages, will be distributed in the best manner possible, as Mr. St. Ange may think advisable, but trying to save or reserve some for the future, because if everything is distributed to them at first, it will be very hard to satisfy them later, as they will make trouble because they expect too much.

21st. This distribution of presents must be done in a different way and under different formalities from those exercised by the French, and a memorandum must be kept of the kinds and quantities of articles distributed among each tribe, before the Chiefs and Warriors who must take part in it, and this memorandum must be signed by the Commander who has made the distribution and this statement must be sent to the Commissary's office of the Colony, otherwise credit will not be given to him.

22nd. The same thing must be done with the provisions that are used by the Savages; a certificate must be made and signed by the Commander, so that it can be attached with the expense account.

23rd. In regard to the rations which will be used during the trip, a statement must be made each month, and this must be signed by the Commander, certifying that the statement is correct and that the articles have been used.

24th. The same must be done in connection with the army supplies, only that a separate statement must be made of the powder, ammunition and other supplies. It is fully understood that the troop and marine will not receive any extra powder or ammunition as it was done among the French, and these supplies must not be used, unless for something absolutely necessary and legitimate, as an explanation of its use must be given in the statement.

25th. Any one who wishes to get powder or ammunition for hunting purposes will have it by paying the current price for it, and the amount will be charged to his account, and those who wish to indulge in this pleasure or sport must have

their own guns, as they cannot use the guns of the army for this purpose.

26th. The ammunition and guns for the military service must be kept for this purpose as long as possible as these belong to the Royal Treasury, and when all these are used up, those of the reserved supply must be used in case it is necessary. As something must always be on hand for an unexpected occurrence, the ammunition must be kept in a very high and dry place, so the dampness will not injure the quality of the powder, and care must be taken that the oldest kind of powder is used first, keep the fresh on hand.

27th. A quantity of goods is sent of all kinds for those that will need them, and they can take their pay in goods, and they must understand that these goods are sold to them at the lowest prices, at which prices the goods have been bought here.

28th. Immediately upon arrival of the troops there, they must start clearing the land that has been selected for the construction of the Fort, they must cut the timber and lumber, and after it has been sawed it will have to be put away; the soldiers will do all the work connected with the establishment of the Fort, and they will get besides their pay the laborer's wages, which are generally 4 reales (4 bits), per day, and this will be paid to them in ammunition, guns, or goods that they may need, charging them at reasonable prices.

29th. The ones who are able to work as carpenters or masons, will earn 6 reales (bits), and all the tools will be supplied for them to work with.

30th. While the construction of the Fort is going on, one sentinel will be kept during the day and two by night.

31st. The Savages who go there can also help in the building, and they will be paid in merchandise and provisions at the rate of 4 reales; but it must be stated that these people have to be treated without any strictness, and have to be handled with great consideration and forbearance.

32nd. After the lodging has been provided, a kind of building must be made of lumber, which will be used for making the adobe, and the clay must be selected, and they must deliver these bricks well dried for $2.00 to $3.00 per hundred; at the beginning they will think this is a very low price, but when they get accustomed they will see that the price is right as each man will make about a dollar per day, more so if the clay and the water are near by, and they must take this into consideration that two men will make more than 100 bricks per day.

33rd. At the same time that the bricks are being manufactured the quarry man will continue getting stones for the foundation, and getting large stones for anything that they may be required, and when plenty of these stones are together the walls of the Fort will be started outside of the wooden stockade, so that when it is completed it will be inside.

34th. As the people will not have anything else to do there, they can do a great deal and accomplish very much in the construction of the Fort, as the English people have done in their new establishments just founded at Iberville and Natchez.

35th. After the walls of the Fort are finished the battery will be placed there, and by that time the new orders will have arrived, giving instructions to continue building the Fort in a very solid way, but before doing this, the powder magazine will be built in a corner so that its roof will be protected by the wall, which can be done by making the wall a little higher on this corner than the rest of the wall.

36th. The manner of building the Fort will be the following: The foundation must be of stone without any lime, but cemented with same clay that the bricks are made of; after it has been well mixed and treated it can be spread over the foundation and then two rows of bricks must be laid over it, or if the bricks are not suitable, then the rough stones or rocks can be used so that it will be raised 1½ feet high from the ground, and on this the wall of bricks must be built cemented with

clay. The top of the wall must be finished with stone mixed with the clay, and the finishing course must be ½ foot or a foot high. All of the walls must be finished with a glossy surface using the proper clay for this purpose, on the outside as well as the inside of the building.

37th. It must be understood that since a Fort is going to be built there, the population should increase, as it will be of great help to keep this Fort up; being the garrison of the Spanish, the population must be Spanish, keeping the customs and government of that country. Therefore the workmen brought from Habana must be married and bring their families with them, and steps have been taken so that the marines will also get married, and bring their wives with them; on this subject we shall speak of later on.

38th. In order to succeed, great care must be taken to that end, and everything must be done in favor of the married men and they must be well treated, and it must be attempted in a very prudent way to restrain them from using much liquor. The rules which must be kept will be formed at the beginning of this establishment, and same must be followed on every occasion, because if the rules are not kept right, the result will be that we will have a very disorderly place, and this naturally will spoil our plans, therefore these rules must be right from the start, and they must be strictly obeyed in order to succeed in our undertaking.

39th. Intoxication is a very common fault among the men of the Colony, but among the Spaniards it is an easy matter to overcome it; watching that no disorderly saloons or vicious resorts are allowed, this purpose will be accomplished. Other vice will be corrected by not allowing it from the start, and there are some which are not as general among the Colony as drunkenness, therefore special attention must be given to this matter. The married men must have every consideration, although some may be of lower class and mixed blood, because the first inhabitants of the Colony, who have become rich with time, did not have this good luck at the beginning.

40th. Inasmuch as the money now in use at the Colony belongs to the King, the size and weight must be the same as the money of Castile, which will be given to them before leaving, double, one to be kept and reserved to be used as a model, and the other must be for common use, and from which others can be made there. With this coin they can sell and buy, and the rations can be obtained with them.

41st. After the first stockade Fort has been finished the lands will be distributed among the married people, giving them the nearest to the Fort, and as there is not the caballerias or fanegadas measures which are used in Spain, they can use the square measure which is now used all over the Indies with the understanding that one square is 100 yards (varas), in width or front, and 100 in depth ; 100 squares in front by 10 in depth will be given to each inhabitant or settler, making 100 squares, and this will make 1000 varas (yards), in front and 100 yards for the depth, and these must be marked in such a manner that they must form squares, in regular size. This must be done with great care so that the measurements will be perfectly square, and in that way avoid any misunderstandings and dissatisfaction which may arise in future.

42nd. Between these grants there must be a highway 12 yards wide each, and it must be given to be understood that every owner must fence his property, little by little, and these fences must be 300 yards from the fort on every side of it. Later on different instructions will be given in regard to the population; for the present, the foregoing instructions will be enough.

43rd. At the time the flag of His Majesty is raised on the place where the Fort will be established, the name of the Royal Majesty will be given, in the form which will be mentioned hereafter, and the men in charge of the stone guns (*pedreros*) in the boats and the fusileers will see that different gun-shots will be discharged in honor of the Royal name; and a *procès-verbal* must be made mentioning the day, the hour

and the persons who took place in this establishment, giving their full names, beginning with the Commander and ending with the lowest soldiers and sailors, and the parties who take their family must state how many people compose each family. A copy of this act must be sent to the Government, and the original must be recorded in the new Fort and establishment.

44th. The two main objects in establishing this Fort are, first, to keep the friendship of the savages in harmony with the Colony, and the second to prevent the British neighbors from intruding in the lands and dominions which belong to His Majesty; and to successfully attain this purpose, it is necessary to use the best sagacity, keep up good friendship with the savages, and not give the English any reason for complaint or hard feelings.

45th. In regard to the savages, what they wish is that they should be treated like brothers, without making them the slightest reproach, jest or mockery,and specially no one should offend them about their wives, because they are very sensitive on this point, and they consider this a great offense, even more serious than a civilized Nation would do. Sometimes they go into excess, about drinking or stealing, but this is just when they are drunk, but when they come back to themselves they give the satisfaction and apology asked from them, and do this in the right way. If advantage should be taken of them, they will surely get angry and forget the friendship and harmony that exists with the Colony, and they will become very cruel enemies, and as their revenge is always bloody, it will be impossible to check them, not even with good will. A dissatisfied tribe will always bring more to their party and it always proves fatal.

46th. When they act unreasonably, they will insult and provoke you, and then is the time you must act with great deal of prudence, and try to avoid them, not considering their actions as crimes, but when they have overcome their anger, complaint should be made to the Chief, and this alone will be

the greatest punishment and a more hard one than anything else that could have been said to them at the time they were angry. Privately they are just like beasts, so brutal, and even among themselves they execute the most atrocious acts, but then they must be subdued in the best possible way using the influence of their own people. This is the principal reason why they thould not be allowed to take brandy in that place; they love liquor, but it is against our interest to let them have it.

47th. They are people who like to have lots of things given to them, and they will sell their friendship for anything that is offered for it. They are never satisfied, and things must be given to them every time they come to ask for them, even if it is just a trifle. For this reason we must not give them all we have at once, but something must be reserved in case they call again for presents; this of course is outside of the regular presents that are given to the Nations with whom we are friendly.

48th. As it may be necessary that some of the Chiefs of some tribes come to the Fort, they will be distinguished as it has been the custom heretofore by their wearing the medal of the King. An account must be given to the Government of the Chiefs who attend or are present at the Fort; sending in their names and reason for their coming—that is, of the principal Chiefs. To the lower Chiefs medals will be sent in case that they wish to come to offer their friendship; as they have the old medals that were given them by the French Government, we must continue doing this, so that they will understand that we want to do everything they have been accustomed to, and we do not wish to introduce any novelty among them.

49th. It must be understood that among the Nations which belong to His Majesty no arms or weapons must be used, neither violence exercised; everything must be settled with kind and reasonable words, making them recognize the injustice and unreasonableness of any possible insult, disturb-

ance or thefts executed on their part, and persuade them to give the apology requested, as if they were offended and they would demand an explanation. It is also very important that the tribes that are on the English side shall not be offended or troubled, and we must keep on very good terms with them whenever they come to our territory, but this must be done in such a way that they will not get jealous or distrustful of the British. For this reason we must not allow that the inhabitants in the near-by towns should cross the English borders to have any dealings with the savages living there, but those who would come to our side as visitors or just to change the territory as they frequently do, must be admitted with kindness, watched with caution, and allowed to settle where they please, and in that way try to gain their good will.

50th. It is very important to try and keep peace among the tribes, those who live on the Spanish side as well as those on the English side, because on account of the wars they have among themselves, the insults and misunderstandings that will arise against the subjects of the King will result in the revenge of the unfriendly tribes, therefore great care must be exercised that when there is any dissension among themselves to pacify them and call them to meetings to try to persuade them by making them small presents. If the animosity is on the English side it will be advisable to take steps with the British Chiefs there, so as to have them contribute in a manner to establish the peace, as it is to their own interest.

51st. The best harmony must be kept with the British subjects who live on the opposite side, and avoid anything that can give cause for complaint or resentment, and at the same time watch the preparation that they may be making or the dispositions that are taking so that a report on same will be given, but this must be done in a very careful way, without rousing their suspicions, and we must be sure of the truth in it, so as not to give any trouble to the Government without any reason.

52nd. It is probable that as a sort of attention or tribute of respect, some of the British officers will come to visit our

Fort and the Commander, and to learn of the intentions there and other things pertaining to it; and being such close neighbors, and as we have to live with them, we cannot object to their coming as this is not advisable by any means, because this would show them that we did not trust them and did not wish to have anything to do with them. But as it is wise to have good friendship and harmony prevail, as we can get into their dominions with the same prudence, and watch their acts and learn about their intentions and purposes in their Forts, and it must be known that on their part as well as ours, these Forts are only established with the purpose of maintaining the respect and regard of the Savage tribes, and to avoid any sudden insult from their part, but if the British people should not call on our Fort first, there is no need for us to go on their side.

53rd. The differences arising from insults from one party to the other must be peaceably settled by means of negotiations, either bringing forth the complaint of the insult received, or admitting them without any discussion and persuade them to apologize or to submit to it, as it would be the most proper way; and in this manner there would be no reason for resentment and friendly feelings would prevail.

54th. It must not be permitted that the savages on the English side will come over to the Territory of His Majesty, nor within the neighborhood, but should they insist on doing this, they must be sent away, making them understand that each Nation has its own territory and its own savages with whom to deal, without having to come and talk with the tribes that belong to another monarch or without doing any harm to it. Should they refuse to understand, they must be arrested, using the least possible violence, until a report of the event will be sent to the British Commander, so that he will keep them where they belong and call them back to their own territory, and you will come to an agreement with the Commander that under similar conditions you would do the same with those of the Spanish side in case they would come into their Territory.

55th. Should the British Commander need provisions or other things excepting ammunition, they must be given to him if the provisions can be spared, and allow him to take everything he needs in that line, and they can be sold to him at the cost prices. On the other hand, should the time come when we are also in need of any provisions, these can be asked from the British Commander under the same terms as above.

56th. The Commander of the Fort will select a tribe which lives in the vicinity to help him, and this will be arranged in a very cautious manner without letting other people know it. But he must advise the Governor of the Colony of his selection and this one (the Commander?) must not have the power of dealing with the rest. This is granted so that he will have the privileges as Chief of the place, without breaking the rules, which he must strictly observe, and in that way protect the interest of His Majesty and the fulfilment of his Royal intentions. He will see to the greatest saving in the expenses, and that the orders given him will be observed and fully regarded.

57th. The other employees, without any exception, may likewise trade with the other tribes, provided that this does not debar them from the fulfilment of their duties; because as employees they must not leave their place of residence; in observance of which they themselves can only trade with the adjoining tribes who come to visit the Fort itself to carry on the trade, but through their children or agents they can trade with the more distant tribes, provided that it be not in forbidden articles; but the Commander can trade only with the one (tribe) which he shall choose. And the employees are allowed to trade, because, seeing that it is permitted to the merchants of New Orleans to continue to profit by the convenience of trading without having the merit of aiding in forming the settlement and maintaining the friendship of the savages, it would not be just to deprive of it those who are the instruments for facilitating this same trade for others. But it is understood that the articles belonging to His Majesty are not to be exploited in any way, as was done by the French, nor even by means of loans to be restored in goods of the same

sort; and they can only use them by purchasing at current prices on account of salaries due in cash, or else (by paying) in skins to the satisfaction of the Keeper of the Stores and at the price there current.

58th. The tariff of prices must be strictly observed without any exception as per notes given at the end of these instructions, and the prices cannot be altered in any way whatsoever, and should any one do it, their goods will be taken away from them and they will have to give an account of their action to the Government, so that the Government will take the necessary steps giving them the deserved punishment. They will be punished by depriving them of the right to sell their goods for the period of 4 years, and a third part of the goods will be confiscated, distributing half of this third part among the orphans of the Colony and the other half among the Hospitals.

59th. As the Spanish measures and weights must be used in all cases, their equivalents will be figured out in the French ones, so that there will be no difference in the dealings and articles which are traded for different ones.

60th. No person will be allowed to enter into the territory and deal with the nations in the establishment, without having a signed license from the Government, and if anyone should attempt to do so, he will be detained until an account of his action is given and the result of it is heard, and they must not be allowed to sell or exchange anything even in the establishment, and he cannot go back with the goods, as he may try to introduce them in another part, or he may sell them among the tribes of the British side.

61st. The introduction of brandy is strictly forbidden, not only among the savage tribes, but also in the establishment, and the quantity that must be brought for necessary purposes will have special license; but any quantity that is brought in excess of the quantity mentioned in the license will be thrown into the River by the store-keeper, the assistant surgeon and the controller, and these parties must send a cer-

tificate to the Government of the brandy that has been thrown away. Any person who shall bring in excess of such quantity will be fined for each pint of brandy extra $25.00, and half of the amount collected will be turned over to the orphans and the hospital and the other half will be retained by the Commander at the establishment.

62nd. The boats which carry things to trade can pass ahead without landing or making a declaration of the goods they carry, but they must show the invoice for these goods and get a license to go through, and should there be any articles which are not allowed to be introduced they must be taken away and divided in half as stated above.

63rd. The introduction of rifles, ammunition, powder or any of such articles among the tribes that have not been accustomed to use same must not be permitted, neither a larger number or quantity than that specified in the license shall be brought among the tribes who handle arms. The contracting parties will only bring what they agree to bring.

64th. If any one of the dealers would like to live or keep store in the establishment, he must submit to the laws and customs to be kept in the matter, which will be issued for his information and knowledge, and if he should agree to keep same, a site will be allotted him out side of the Fort, and this site or place must be 30 yards in front and just as many deep; but great care must be taken that these people will not live with their own negresses and mulatto slaves, and they must be made to understand that even if they should be of a higher class, if they carry this action for over two years, they must get married or else they will have to go away from there, and they will not be permitted to reside there for any length of time. This disposition is a very important one to try and stop this horrible vice which is now prevailing in the Colony.

65th. When the time has expired for a part of the army, His Majesty must be advised of this, and orders will be issued so that a license will be given to those whose term is ended, and they must be persuaded to stay and establish themselves there, and some land will be allotted to them, and they can

take possession of it with the understanding that should they not be married in a year they shall lose the right to the land, and will have to leave it.

66th. In case that the people who establish themselves there, and their term is almost over and they have not been married because there are no women, the Government must be advised of the fact so that steps will be taken to bring the orphan girls from the Colony, or bring some Florida girls from Habana, where there are plenty of nice girls without means, and they are white and of very good morals.

67th. It must be understood that as to the settlement, this must be outside of the Fort, and as near as possible, but there must always be a space of 300 yards between one and the other; and at the back of the houses a stockade must be built with points, which will be repaired every year at their own expense, and in this way prevent the savages from making some sudden entry at night and surprise them. Should the land not permit this to be made, then a ditch must be opened ten yards wide and 5 to 6 deep, leaving an entrance through the gate, which must be the only one, and this one must be carefully watched.

68th. The first thing that must be attended to must be the manner of living with the least inconvenience possible. Seeds for all kinds of vegetables and fruit will be brought, and as soon as that place is reached, two soldiers and one of the sailors will be put to work at planting a large vegetable garden or several small ones; one for the Commander and officers and the other for the rest of the employees and office clerks, another one for the marine, and another one for the army, which must be taken care of until they are better settled in the establishment and each one must do in their own house what they like.

69th. As the hunting there is very good, there being wild cattle, deer and all kinds of birds, three or four savages must be kept there for hunting purpose, and the expenses will be paid by the people who get the benefit of their hunting; two

men who are experts at shooting will go with the savages, so that these will get accustomed to handle the arms, and later on they can go by themselves. This plan was carried out by the French and the British are doing it now.

70th. This hunting will not prevent them from bringing from the nearest place some domestic animals. For that purpose the boat has been ordered left there for some time to carry all that may be needed.

71st. Corn fields must be sown immediately, large enough for the demand of the place, as everybody must have enough to eat, and hunger must not be known there; and later on when the establishment is on solid basis some wheat will be sown in a common way (everybody helping), and some other grains for the common benefit.

72nd. At the beginning of this establishment there is much to be done, but it is a great relief when we realize that just by using the gun and powder we can get enough meat to eat, and that the lands are fertile and everything is produced in abundance, because the climate is so good and the soil is rich, and also there is a great consolation to know that the climate is healthy and suitable for the people, which was not the case when the first Spaniards arrived to build the establishments of the Indies, which were the beginning of the large dominions which Spain possesses now, and all this must be taken into consideration, and we must be greatly encouraged by the circumstances, so that we will succeed in our undertakings.

73rd. The principal means of keeping this establishment will be in the settlement which must be steady and formed in the manner above stated, because upon this depends the subsistence of the militia, and therefore measures have been taken so that the largest possible number of families will come in order to have the best results. As the Company has some surplus capital left over from the amount used for the gratifications of recruits, which in this country there is no use in giving, this capital naturally would have to be returned to the Royal Treasury, but this money can be used for another

purpose, and the Captain will inform the sergeants and corporals and the soldiers who are ready to go, that if they wish to marry before they leave or to do so on the voyage with the Acadians, and after they are married to bring their wives, a dower will be given to them in proportion to the surplus money that there is on hand for gratifications. The sergeant will be given 50 pesos, the corporal 40 pesos and to a soldier 30 pesos, so that with this money they can buy whatever furniture is most needed for their houses, and they will also be allotted some land so that they can cultivate it, and they will be allowed to work it during the days in which they are not on duty, and they can also work on their land when there is nothing urgent for them to do at the establishment; as it may be necessary that they will have to gather their crop, they will be allowed to make arrangements with some of their comrades so they will take their places while the crop is being gathered. Each one will live with his wife in the house that they build on their land, provided he will return on the days that he is on duty, and he must not fail to keep any obligation he may have.

74th. The money mentioned above will be divided among the three different companies; and as it is quite small, not over 100 pesos, this amount will not be enough to go around to all the people who may wish to get married, therefore the dower will be paid to them later on; and this dower will be paid upon receipt given and signed by the Sergeant, soldier or corporal, and by the girl who is going to marry, and also the signature of the Priest must appear, certifying that he was present at the time of the payment.

75th. If during the trip someone should take very sick, and the surgeon would advise that he be left at some place where he could be taken good care of, this must be done, and he must be left either in the German or the Acadians' place, or in any other place where there is a good population; and if it would be necessary another man can be engaged to take his place at the oar.

76th. There is hardly any piece of land that is not flooded when the water rises, and the settlements of the Colony are protected by the precaution of levees raised at its borders and which are made of earth, and notice must be taken of same when passing by, so that this same thing will be carried on at the establishment, and this must be one of the first things done at the Fort, so that when the river rises due precautions shall have been taken and the farms and other places protected.

ADDITION.

Should it happen that on account of sickness or other cause some of the most important parties should be missing, that is to say, the parties who are familiar with keeping the accounts of the expenses, the engineers, superintendent or some other one, the Commander, the Governor of the Establishment, will select among all the rest a person who will act for the one missing. And if the party missing should be the Superintendent, great care must be taken to appoint some one who is responsible for the position and who will take great deal of care of the interest and property of His Majesty; and he will receive the corresponding amount for the time that he acts as substitute, which compensation will be one hundred pesos per year, and this place can be given to a good honest sergeant, corporal or soldier who has a good handwriting and is of recognized honesty. If the party missing should be the engineer, the work will be done as ordered by the master masons and carpenters, according to their ability. When there is no mason, the carpenter or smith will do his work, the workmen of each of these will be appointed by the Commander, according to the best skill that he would find in them.

Balize, March 14, 1767. (There is a rubric).

Antonio Ulloa.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

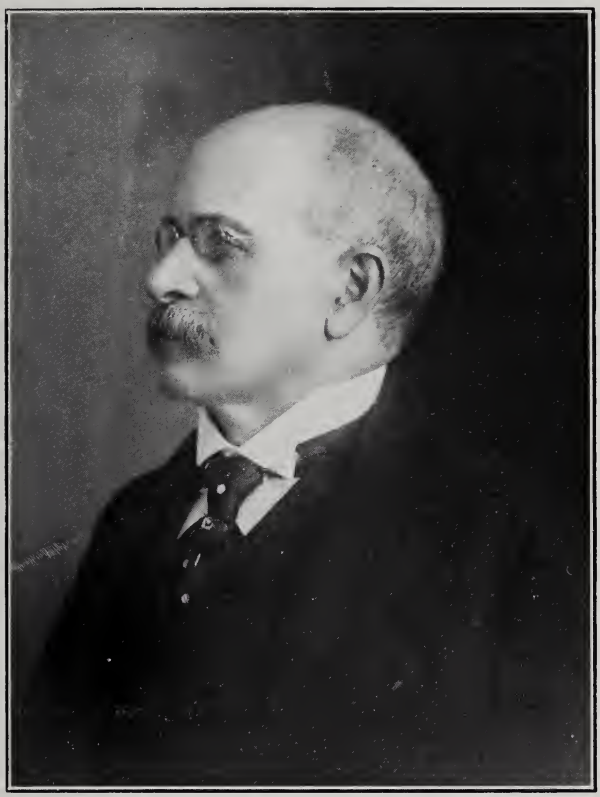
(Read at a Meeting of the Society, 17th November, 1905.)

Continued from Vol. II, No. 7.

Act Two. Scene One.

My Second Act begins with a failure that served to give me a foretaste of what I was to expect unless I exercised considerable care and shrewdness. A Yankee comedian who had leased the Athenaeum Theater at Keokuk, Iowa, offered me an engagement to play the juvenile parts. As I was most anxious to try my talents abroad I accepted at once and left by steamboat for Keokuk. On my arrival, I saw by the posters that instead of the Yankee, Harry McCarthy and his beautiful sister, Marion, had charge of the theater, and that the aforesaid Yankee, whose name I have forgotten, had departed for parts unknown. After much inquiry, however, I was informed by a boy that he was lodging at the Hibernia House, on the levee, where I found him in the bar just about sober enough to stammer some apologies and to direct me to McCarthy's quarters, who he said had treated him in a very unprofessional manner. I found McCarthy who was glad to meet me, and being short of people offered me an engagement on condition that I would play a very long part that night. I consented, and as it was two o'clock and I should have but four hours to complete my task, I procured lodgings and set to work at once. At six I had memorized the part; played it to satisfaction that night and was duly engaged.

The music of the theater was rendered by Richard Maddern and his seven children, as follows: Richard Maddern; Jr., now a leader in New York; Henry Maddern, at present leader at the Century Theater; Mary Maddern, who now is traveling with her niece, Mrs. Fisk; Emma Maddern, the



Photograph by Rosch.

AUGUST WALDAUER.

Born 6 Jan. 1826. Died 9 Sept. 1899.

well-known soubrette of former years at DeBar's theater, Luisa Maddern, at present the wife of Si Gates, who for many years has faithfully filled the position of master stage carpenter at the Olympic Theater; Emilie Maddern, who became the wife of William Hodges, actor, and Lizzie Maddern, the mother of Mrs. Fisk, the present renowned actress, who is opposing the theater syndicate. These, together with the father, formed quite an efficient orchestra of eight pieces. The entire family, as we see, became musicians and actors. Richard Maddern, the father, died in St. Louis during the early sixties, and Mrs. Fisk's mother some time in the eighties.

After this affair had lasted three weeks, with much hard work and no salary forthcoming, and as rows occurred nearly every night between the raftsmen, that were wont to make this theater their occasional headquarters, and the actors, who during the fight would go in full costume among these roughs in the gallery and beat them down stairs with iron bars and clubs, I quit, and again entered the printing office where in a few days I earned enough to pay my debts and purchase a deck passage for St. Louis. On Sunday the steamer Hannibal City arrived, and as the strict Sabbath laws of the town forbade the teams to work on that day, I was compelled to haul my baggage on a wheel-barrow, a performance which elicited a great deal of merriment from the youths of the town, and such consoling remarks as "bust up actor," "star played out," etc. As I was dressed in style, no doubt my peculiar manner of arrival had attracted the attention of some of the officers of the boat, for before long a boy came and informed me that I was free to come up into the cabin if I pleased. I thanked him very kindly and told him that as I had paid for my way as a deck passenger I preferred to travel as such. During the night I became very hungry and sleepy, and as all the bunks were occupied I looked about for a resting place until I discovered a huge pine box that had been shoved into a corner of the stern of the boat, upon which I stretched out and soon slept like a lord. About four o'clock in the morning I was awakened by

the loud laugh of one of the deckhands, who shouted to the rest: "Here's a fellow sleeping on this corpse, and he's gamey, too." The corpse was removed to the shore and I withdrew to the stern watching the current as it rolled southward and wondering where my next venture would be.

After a short stay in St. Louis, I heard that a very fine new theater had been built in connection with the Odd Fellows Hall in Dubuque, Iowa. I had no engagement, but I determined to go and take the risk of procuring one, and so, about the middle of August, I entered the town and found that the company was full, went to the hotel, paid $1.25 for my lodging and breakfast, all the money I had except 25c with which I bought tobacco and went in search of another printer's job. As work was plenty I was soon clicking type to the tune of $2.50 to $3.00 per day. During the third week I was sent for by the manager of the theater to take the place of man discharged for drunkenness. There I played with the same run of stars as is usual in the great cities, and with a very good company. I received my salary, was very much liked and altogether felt satisfied and very comfortable. However, my happiness was soon to be dispelled. The great financial crisis of 1857 burst in upon us, and it was rumored that the theater was about to close, when I received an offer from Uncle Jack Huntley, manager of the Peoria Theater, with an increase of two dollars weekly on my salary, which at present was only ten dollars. As things were beginning to look uncertain in Dubuque, where numerous suffering miners made daily demonstrations of noisy parades, bearing banners on which were inscribed: "We want bread and will have it!" I concluded to remove my quarters to Peoria, where I hoped with a change of locality I would also find a change of condition. My manager was loath to let me go and offered to raise my salary two dollars, but I declined as I had given Uncle Jack my word, and as I said before I fondly dreamed that affairs would be better in Peoria. I was mistaken. After traveling all night, I arrived in Peoria at ten o'clock, and consequently proceeded at once from the depot to the theater, where I found the or-

chestra rehearsing the music of Macbeth, and Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Wallack waiting to rehearse the piece in which they were to open that night. Uncle Jack seemed glad to see me as I had been spoken of very favorably by traveling stars, and introduced me to the members of the company, the principals of which were experienced and good actors. Uncle Jack, well known to the St. Louis people of that day from his connection with Ludlow & Smith's old St. Louis Theater, though but a fair actor was a thoroughbred prompter and stage manager of the ancient regime. But he had the bad habit of indulging in periodical sprees, during which period he would be lost to his company, his family, his friends and to the world in general, until after a painful search he would be found convalescing in some doggery without coat, hat or boots. A similar spree took place at this period, his wife managing the business during his absence. In a few days he returned, was reinstated, and a more quiet, honest, and gentle old man than Uncle Jack would be hard to find.

The fatal results of the financial crisis became more apparent each day. Bank failures followed each other in a rapid succession, so that notes and bills that were good one hour were mere waste paper the next. Business became so bad that in spite of the splendid acting of the Wallacks in Macbeth, Shylock, etc., followed by Matilda Heron and Sothern and George Jamison, that after four weeks the theater was compelled to close. I received my salary and had twenty dollars saved, but when I came to use my money I found it all worthless excepting a few dollars, as the banks whose notes I held had failed that morning. This was Monday afternoon; previous to this they had been all right. After paying my board I had just two dollars left, and as I had contracted an engagement with Aug. Waldauer who was going to open DeBar's St. Louis Theater for the winter season in two weeks, I was left without means to pay my railroad fare to St. Louis. Uncle Jack very kindly offered to get me a steamboat pass, saying; "You know, my dear boy, it is not my fault that the banks are all breaking. The money was as good as gold when I gave it to you." He got me the

pass, but as the boat did not run on schedule time, after laying awake for two nights watching the river, I gave up the project. There was no time to be lost, for I had to be in St. Louis for rehearsal. In this dilemma a hard up printer whose board I had paid came to my rescue by procuring a railroad ticket from his employer who was indebted to him, and so I was enabled to pack up my traps and return to St. Louis once more, poor in wealth but rich in experience.

The company that had been organized to play the fateful season of 1857, at the St. Louis Theater, was composed of the following male members: J. A. Leonard, lead; C. A. Morton, heavy; T. A. Hall, low comedian; J. B. Fuller, character old man; R. French and Charles Krone, respectable utility; J. C. Stewart, farce old man; J. M. Ward, second heavy; L. Booth and Chas. Hase, general utility. Waldauer and Fuller were the lessees and managers. J. B. Fuller, stage manager; G. T. Collins, acting manager, and A. Pozzoni, treasurer.

Mr. and Mrs. Florence were the opening stars, and their repertoire consisted in numerous one-act commediettas and farces. These actors were among the first that inaugurated that species of short and sketchy work, which up to the present day has developed into what is known as the Vaudeville Show, the rage for which was to gradually take possession of the stage to the exclusion of the more serious English Drama. Barney Williams and wife and Dan Bryant had adopted a similar course and remained in it unto the end, whereas Florence, too good an actor to stop at these trivialities, later developed into a comedian capable of executing the best work that the language affords. This new departure was hailed with general delight by the public and Paddy Miles' Boy, Shandy Maguire, The Yankee Girl, and the Tragedian drew full houses. Another pioneer of the new sensational dispensation appeared in the person of Frank Mayo, in a play called "The Poor of New York," a production that shifted the blood-curdling events and desperate characters of the old pirate and sailor melodrama into the garb and vernacular of modern naturalism, and which sustained a run of one week

to good business. During the latter part of his engagement he played Hamlet, as if anxious to show the public he possessed higher powers than those exerted in the tramp he had delighted them with. He was a fine all-around actor that had thrown aside his English classics for the maudlin sensationalism that was beginning to prevail and well it paid him, for in later years he made a fortune with his excellent acting in his "Davy Crocket," but in an unhappy moment his old love for the legitimate revived in his soul, he produced the tragedy of Macbeth in splendid style, both as regarded scenery and actors, took it on the road, lost all he had gained and returned to "Davy Crocket," which did not fail him.

Business on the whole, however, was bad, and many were the stars that failed to draw the expense; and several members of the company had already left for home and were replaced by others. The winter advanced and the depression and misery increased, and although the St. Louis theater was the only legitimate house in the city, Wood's Theater having been closed to make way for Lupe's saloon and bowling alley, the season threatened to be a losing one. Before long salaries were in arrears and general discontent prevailed among the company. However, the confidence reposed in Aug. Waldauer, whose reputation for honesty and integrity was indisputable, his business tact, and, above all, his generous and even disposition while he was about to lose everything, prevented the business from coming to a close at once. He paid out the money as fast as it came in, and he was resolved to carry through the season at all hazards.

Mr. Jas. Starks, a favorite New York actor, and a personator of Falstaff, was engaged and expected to replenish the treasury. He came after being duly announced for the Merry Knight in the Merry Wives of Windsor and Henry the Fourth. He played the part well and with a good company to support him, yet notwithstanding the financial result was a dismal failure.

Mrs. Mary Farren, another star of hope, was engaged with great expectations. This lady, though an actress of superior tragic endowments, was likewise a clever exponent of higher

English comedy characters. She had been the leading lady for a lengthy period in the stock company of the old theater under Ludlow and Smith's management, and had made herself admired and respected through her dignified and exemplary social character, as well as her genuine artistic ability. And to this very day the old theater-goers of that period, while speaking of that time, never fail to mention her with reverence and affection. A tall and slender figure, a face rather small, of dark complexion and expressive of dignity and simple kindness when in repose, a profusion of dark brown hair which crowned the small head, and a peculiar flute-like tone of voice, were the principal personal attractions of this lady. She was the mother of severa children, one of whom, the daughter, she had brought with her on this occasion and who played in the after-piece.

Our expectations of this engagement were also disappointed. The Hunchback, Wrecker's Daughter, Lucretia Borgia, and other plays of her repertoire in which she excelled were produced without any signal effect upon the treasury. During her engagement a benefit for the poor was announced for November 28th, 1858, on which occasion she appeared as Mary Tudor, in the play of that title, to be followed by the roaring farce of the Family Jars, in which Sol Smith, the veteran manager appeared as old Dolph, a favorite part of his and in which he was very funny, and the farce of the Rough Diamond, in which Mrs. Farren's daughter appeared as Margery. On this occasion I saw Sol Smith act for the first time and the last, and to my knowledge it was also his last appearance on any stage. Venerable old Sol, "Methinks I see him now" with his dark complexioned, long and square face ornamented with little side whiskers, and the deep furrows and indentations that told in living letters the history of a long life and struggle with care and frustrated hopes, and the calm, benignant smile which also told of the well-won victory. He was very hard of hearing in later years and would speak as loudly to those that conversed with him as though they were afflicted in a like manner. The last time I saw him was while standing in the

lobby of the dress circle to view a play in which I had no part. While a very quiet scene was going on he came up to me, and placing his mouth quite close to my ear shouted: "I received a letter from Sol to-day. He is in Liverpool, England, and doing first rate." Sol was his youngest son who had adopted the stage, and this news was proclaimed loud enough for the entire audience to hear. All turned around to see and smiled or laughed, for he was generally known. However, he went on: "I saw you play Master Walter last week and I was very much pleased. You keep on that way young fellow!" He was going to say more, when DeBar came out of his office and took him by the arm to lead him away. "I was just telling Krone about ——" he replied, while DeBar was drawing him towards his office and said: "Yes, yes, I know," and turning to me he remarked: "Egad, he thinks he's whispering." What the result of this benefit was I do not know, but Mrs. Farren's engagement was not a financial success for us. In later years when I had advanced to the position of leading heavy man I played everything belonging to that line of business with this lady. The last time I saw her was after the abolition of the stock companies. I was walking down Broadway when I was called by my name, and on turning around beheld Mrs. Farren, grown older and somewhat stouter, but as cheerful and kindly as ever. She was with a traveling company playing at the Olympic, and she was engaged to play the old woman. She was delighted to see me and to hear that I had been in the same company with one of her sons while in New York. She departed this life some eight or ten years ago, and none of the children have ever reached the eminence of their mother.

The week that followed Mrs. Farren's engagement was inaugurated by Mr. and Mrs. Wallack in the tragedy of Macbeth with the original music by Locke, who is considered the father of the English opera. Since the abolition of the stock companies this classic music has been omitted, but in former days it would have been considered sacrilege to do

the piece without it. Mr. Wallack was considered by many to be of the Macready school and a clever imitation of that actor. As I never saw Macready I have no opinion in the matter, but if the average intelligent auditor can be instructed, moved and pleased almost to exaltation by an actor in such diverse parts as Macbeth and Fagin the Jew in Oliver Twist, Werner in Byron's tragedy of that name and Benedict in Much Ado About Nothing, Cassius in Julius Caesar and the Man in the Iron Mask and Mercutio in Romeo and Juliet, I should judge that man to be an actor of a very high order, and that Mr. Wallack certainly was. Mrs. Wallack, though plain in features and simple and unostentatious in her style, nevertheless possessed a dignified stage appearance, strong emotional power and versatility as was proved in her excellent renditions of Lady Macbeth and the low street waif, Nancy Sykes. All these aforementioned plays were produced, but the box office receipts hovered between an occasional paying house and a dead loss. In this cheerless manner the business labored on for some weeks, when we were startled with the news that our suffering and anxiety were to end, as the management had engaged the famous "Ronsani Ballet Troupe," who were touring the country in triumph. This troupe consisted of one hundred female dancers, and it was boasted to contain not only the best talent but the most beautiful women of every nation in the world, and but two male dancers. This was joyful news, and the management called a meeting of the company, when it was resolved that the actors should give up their engagements on the arrival of the troupe, and that all arrears should be settled as fast as the money came in. Thus the management would be relieved of the expense the company entailed, the actors receive their money, and all parties satisfied. I alone was retained to play some small parts that were necessary to explain the plots of the different ballets. On the morning of the arrival of this troupe, on entering the theatre to rehearse my part I found the stage filled with numerous wardrobe trunks and huge boxes containing

properties and show bills, and upon these a host of care-worn, travel-tired and slovenly-attired women were either seated or stretched out and sound asleep, while some were busy opening the coffers and getting out the necessary costumes for the night, and others dressed in short ballet skirts and decollette waists, were getting their legs in trim by high kicks or gyrating like a top. A look convinced me that the assertion made in regard to the good looks of the party was not an idle boast, for in spite of their present dejected looks, their features and their shapes, together with their quiet demeanor, betokened that these girls were no amateurs on a picnic but routined and educated performers and of various nations also. I found the manager, who, from his dialect and appearance, seemed to be a Hollander, and I stated my business, whereupon he introduced me to one of the lady high-kickers, who led me aside and in a dialect which I could not understand, tried to instruct me in what I had to do. Finally, after much dumb show and murder of the King's English, I discovered that I was to carry a huge wreath on a cushion, speak some lines to the girls before a certain dance, and at the conclusion deliver the wreath to the girl who proved to be the victor, that is, to herself, and then go home.

Night came and the house was crowded and the audience delighted, so were the actors, several of whom were paid off the next day and sent home rejoicing. The ballet, I think, was called "Faust," in five long acts, during which not a word was spoken excepting the few lines I delivered at the commencement; and yet, the audience sat quietly and delighted during these performances, and for six weeks filled the house, and that, too, when the city did not contain one-third of its present population. I am no judge of this sort of entertainment, but many of the French people who have a natural taste for this art, and who had travelled on the Continent, and Waldauer himself, who was a judge in these matters, said that it was the grandest affair of the kind that ever came to the city, and placed it in line with the Keller

Troupe that also has never been surpassed nor any attempt made to repeat it.

Among others, a ballet entitled "Robert Le Diavolo," was produced or rather danced. The actors were all paid off and I received my salary regularly every week, but the back pay was still due. Every week I received a new part of a magician or a red demon a la Mephistopheles, in which from beneath the cellar I was impelled by a 200 pound counterweight, and shot, like from a cannon, through a star trap five feet high above the level of the stage, where, spreading out my bat wings in the glare of red fire and brimstone smoke, I would utter the conventional demoniacal ha! ha! ha! before delivering my speech. During the last week of this most successful engagement the Martinetti Troupe, a company of French Pantomimists, were announced, and I was retained for another term of four weeks for the same work I had done in the ballets. Waldauer paid me my back salary, amounting to some sixty or seventy dollars in new silver half dollars, which I tied up in my handkerchief and hurried home as fast as I could for fear that I might lose or be robbed of my treasure. The Martinetti Troupe was the successor of the old Ravel Troupe, of which Gabriel Ravel, the world-renowned pantomime clown was the founder. This troupe of French pantomimists, that played pantomime as Frenchmen only can, were in the habit of finishing the season with a two or three weeks' engagement. They were considered the best of their class, and their plays were very unlike the silly, flatfooted English buffooneries we have had since, for they not only excited laughter but gave a very pleasant insight into the manners, customs and dress of the French soldier and peasant, who were the principal subjects on which their plots were founded. The traps, tricks and transformation machinery were all made by the members of the troupe, who were also good mechanics. As soon as they arrived at the theatre all the male members at once put on their overalls and the conventional French blouse and set to work sawing, hammering

and arranging the scenes for the night's performance. Blonine, the famous Niagara rope walker, was of this party. The Ravel Family, numbering several members, the Martinetti Brothers, Dubouchet and a corps of dancers. Gabriel Ravel had either died or retired on account of old age, and his worthy successor, Phil. Martinetti, with the best talents of the former troupe, had reorganized this present institution under the name of the Martinetti Pantomime Troupe. They gave the same class of entertainment as of old, such as Masoulm the Night Owl, Jeanette and Jeanot, The Recruit, Jocko the Brazilian Ape, the Village School, the Skaters of Wilna, all of which were well performed and to large and admiring audiences. For the space of four weeks nearly every night as soon as I was through with my part I hurried in front to witness these exhibitions, which I considered an excellent school for an actor and to enjoy a hearty laugh. This troupe, in my opinion, ranked with the Kellers and the Rouzani, and was the best of its class I had seen until then or ever since.

The receipts of this engagement and that of the Rouzani Ballet enabled Waldauer to pay the debts incurred with the employes of the theatre, but it was said that he had lost everything that he possessed. I do not know the particulars of the outcome, but I never heard any one complain, and all that had come in contact with him were prodigal in praise of his conduct. And it could not well be otherwise, for he was a gentleman according to the best definition of the word, an artist, a translator from the German of some of the finest and most successful plays that have graced the American stage during the last fifty years; plays that have made reputations and fortunes for certain stars, and for which he received merely a beggarly compensation and ingratitude, Among his many works we have the Cricket, Little Barefoot. Lorely, The Pearl of Savoy, The Organ G nder and His Child, A Glass of Water and Griseldis, all of which, except the last, brought hoards of money to the stars, and less to him than is paid to-day for as many vaudeville sketches.

Besides, I am told by those who were intimate with him that the world at large would never know of his private charities unless told so by the recipients. Taken all in all he was a man whose influence in or out of the theatre was for the good, the true and the beautiful, and I rejoice to have been connected with him for many years in that historical institution known as DeBar's Theatre, and that I shall have occasion to speak of him again.

(*Continuation to follow.*)

Death of Don Carlos de Villemont.—DIED—At Arkansas, universally regretted, on Saturday the 9th inst. Don Carlos de Villemont, aged 56 years, formerly commandant of the garrison at the Post of Arkansas, belonging to his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, until the session of Louisiana to the U. States. His complaint was the Hydrothorax, or Dropsy of the Chest, which after a short but painful illness, terminated his existence. A wife and numerous family are left to deplore the loss of a kind husband and an affectionate father; and a large circle of acquaintance, to whom he was endeared by the general suavity of his manners and his unblemished character, will long remember him as an upright man, a social friend and cheerful companion.

St. Louis Enquirer:

September 20, 1823.—De Villemont was commandant at the Post of Arkansas from the year 1794. He was a son-in-law of Joseph Baugy, *père*, of Kaskaskia, who later removed to Arkansas Post.

SAINT LOUIS LAND OWNERS IN 1805.

Among the records of the St. Louis Circuit Court there is a paper brown with age and tender in the folds, entitled "*Etats General des Evaluations des Proprietees fonsiaires de la ville de St. Louis.*"

The paper is written in the beautiful, but somewhat labored, handwriting affected by most of the educated creoles of St. Louis in the early days.

The words "*de la ville de,*" in the title, are interpolated in a handwriting of more American appearance in place of the original "*du Dct. de*"—of the district of, which have been deleted.

The headings are, *Nomie des Proprietaires; Lota non Etablice,* with sub-headings, *En ville* and *Hor de ville; terrins Etablis; moulins a van; moulins a Eau,* and *Evaluation de $ Fortes.* It will be observed that the writer has somewhat anticipated the teachings of President Roosevelt in the matter of mis-spelling.

The paper bears no date, but from internal evidence it may be indubitably assigned to the year 1805. It is, therefore, the first tax-list made up under the American domination, and represents the first land tax ever imposed in the limits of the present State of Missouri.

The names of the proprietors[1] and the "evaluations" are as follows:

[1] The names as they appear in the tax list are here printed in Roman type; the corrections and additions in italics. Since the list comes near to being a complete enumeration of the male citizens of St. Louis at that time, it has been thought desirable to supplement the list by adding the names of the wives. These appear in italic type under the names of the husbands. It is not attempted to set forth the situation as it existed in 1805 with regard to the women; some named had died prior to that year, some were married later.

Monsieurs—

Louis Labaume (*Labeaume*).....	$1,000.00
1st, *Adelaide Dutemple.*	
2d, *Susanne Dubreuil.*	
Ante, (*Antoine*) Roi.....	3,000.00
1st, *Félicité Vasquez.*	
2d, *Marie Louise Papin.*	
Louis Boissis (*Boissy*).....	300.00
Marie Biset.	
Joseph Salois.....	250.00
Thérèse Desautels.	
St. Gemes Bauvais (*Gemenin Beauvais*).....	500.00
Placide Aubuchon.	
Jacques Lajeunesse.....	250.00
Hélène Vasseur.	
Nicolas Lecompte.....	300.00
Catherine St. François.	
Jce. (*Jacques*) Clamorgan.....	3,500.00
Jh. (*Joseph*) Brazeau.....	4,000.00
Marie Delisle dit *Bienvenu.*	
Nicolas St. Andre.....	100.00
Thérèse (*Indian half breed*).	
Jean St. Andre.....	100.00
Bte. Hortesse (*Jean Baptiste Ortes*).....	500.00
Elizabeth Barada (*she was born at Vincennes in 1764, came to St. Louis in 1768, and died here in 1868.*)	
Pre (*Jean Pierre*) Chouteau.....	6,000.00
1st, *Pelagie Kiersereau.*	
2d, *Brigitte Saucier.*	
Cerré père[2] (ou succession).....	2,500.00
Catherine Giard.	
Pascal Cerré.....	1,000.00
Thérèse Lami.	
Antoine Soulard.....	3,000.00
Marie Julie Cerré.	

[2] Jean Gabriel Cerré died 4 April, 1805; his wife died 21 July, 1800.

(From portrait by W. T. Hinchy, 1867.)

MADAME ELIZABETH BARADA ORTES.

Monsieurs—

André Landreville..... $2,500.00
Marie Louise Robert.

Emilien Yosty (*Yosti*)..... 3,500.00
Theotiste Durand.

Jacques (*James*) Rankin..... 800.00
Marie Hubert.

Veuve Loiselle (*Hélène Chauvin*)..... 400.00
(*Widow of Regis Loisel. She married 2d, François Lebeau*).

Henry Delorier (*Delaurier*)..... 500.00
Hélène Bissonette.

Louis Brazeau..... 350.00
Marie Françoise Bienvenu dit *Delisle.*

Charles Simoneau..... 500.00
Marie Picard.

Pre. (*Martin dit*) Ladoceur..... 100.00
Archange Lecompte.

Louis Letourneau (dit *Lafleur*)..... 300.00
Marie Bissonette.

Ant. (*Vincent*) Bouis..... 3,500.00
Marie Madeleine Robert.

Benito Vasquez..... 500.00
Julie Papin.

J. M. (*Joseph Marie*) Papin..... 1,200.00
Marie Louise Chouteau.

Ve. (*Veuve*) Labbadie (*Pélagie Chouteau, widow of Silvestre Labadie*)..... 3,000.00

Chs. Gratiot..... 4,000.00
Victoire Chouteau.

Ve. Chouteau (*Madame Chouteau nèe Bourgeois, Marie Thérèse*)..... 3,000.00

J. Bte. (*Jean Baptiste*) Truteau (*Trudeau*)..... 400.00
Magdalene Roy, widow of François Hébert.

Bernard Pratte..... 3,000.00
Emelie Sauveur Labadie.

Augte. Chouteau..... 32,650.00
Marie Thérèse Cerré.

Monsieurs—

Guillaume Hébert (*dit*) Lecompte..... $5,000.00
Marguerite Blondeau, widow of Amable Guion.
Fs. (*François*) Vallois (*Valois*)..... 2,000.00
Julie Beaugenou.
Jh. (*Joseph*) Robidoux..... 10,000.00
Catherine Rollet dit *Laderoute.*
Jh. (*Joseph*) Hortiz..... 1,000.00
Marguerite Marianne Becquet.
François Liberge (*Anglicised later into Labarge*) 800.00
Marianne Dorion.
Patrice Lee..... 2,500.00
Constance Condé.
Hiacinte (*Hyacinthe*) Eglise..... 600.00
Angelique Delisle.
Poloche (*Louis Paul*) Guittard..... 300.00
Félicité Marli.
Campbell & Matlake..... 200.00
(*John Campbell.*
Margaret ————————.
White Matlack.
Rebecca ————————.,
Phil. fine..... 1,000.00
1st, *Celeste Bolly* (*Bolaille*).
2d, *Maria Newby,* (*widow of John Cleborn*)
Michel Rolette (*Rolet* dit *Laderoute*)..... 300.00
Marguerite Legren.
Joseph Hébert (dit *Lecompte*)..... 300.00
Charlotte Laroche.
John Biggs..... 400.00
Franco. Benoit (*François Marie Benoit,* or *Benoist*)..... 2,000.00
Marie Catherine Sanguinet.
Pierre Guerret (dit *Dumont*)..... 500.00
Pélagie Miot.
Ante. Flandrin..... 400.00
Marguerite Barada, widow of Jean P. Pourcelli.

Monsieurs—

J. Bte. (*Jean Baptiste*) Lebeau..... $400.00
Marie Joseph Alvarez Hortiz.

Ve. Jacques Labbé (*Noïse dit Labbé*)..... 100.00
Née Beaugenou, Thérèse.

Chls. (*Vachard* dit) Lardoise..... 100.00
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Sally ————————.

Alexandre Grimau (dit *Charpentier*)..... 200.00
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Pierre Latour..... 50.00
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Eustache Caillou..... 50.00
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Louis (*Chauvin* dit) Charleville..... 50.00
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Geneviève Rosalie Michaux.

Pre. (*Pierre*) Duchouquette..... 300.00
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Ve. Morain (*Pélagie Antaya Pelletier, widow of Antoine Morin*)..... 500.00

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Joseph Roi..... 30.00
Josette Cailloux.

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François Duchouquette.....	200.00
(*Unmarried.*)	
J. Bte. Marly.....	100.00
Félicité Roussel dit *Sans Souci.*	
Louis Cailloux.....	50.00
Marie Lalande.	
Noel Mongrin (*Mongrain*).....	100.00
"*Une beauté osage.*"	
Ph. (*Philippe Riviere* dit) Baccané.....	150.00
1st, *Marie Pinot.*	
2d, *Marianne Liberge, widow of Louis Gueret* dit *Dumont.*	
Louis Baudoin.....	50.00
Marié Euphrosine Tesson Honoré.	
Paul Loise[3].....	100.00
Elizabeth Welder.	
P. (*Jean Pierre*) Didier[4].....	2,500.00
Hte. (*Hyacinthe*) Hamelin (or *Amelin*).....	100.00
Jean Baptiste Dominé.....	100.00
Manuel Lisa.....	2,500.00
1st, *Polly or Mary Charless.*	
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Ve. Charleville (*Francoise Brazeau, widow of Jean Baptiste Chauvin* dit *Charleville*).....	800.00
F. (*François Joseph Rousseau* dit) La bonté....	50.00
Marguerite Alvarez Hortiz.	

[3] Billon says that Paul Loise was son of Alexis Loise and Elizabeth Beaugenou, but in Vissier's *Histoire de la Tribu des Osages*, it is said: "M. Paul Loise, leur interprète, né d'un Français et d'un femme osage, qui, toujours en rapport avec leur tribu parle leur langue, et posséde toute leur affection."

[4] M. Didier came to Missouri from Gallipolis. He had one daughter, Joséphine, who married Hubert Guion, but no mention is made in the St Louis records of his wife. She died, probably, before he came here. He was a watchmaker by trade and was the first Treasurer of the State of Missouri. He died 25 August, 1823.

Monsieurs—

Ms. (*Mrs*) Charlotte Kamps (*Camp*)..... $ 100.00
Married Moses Bates, of Ste. Genevieve, later. She was at this time the widow Guion.

Ve. Bompart (*Celeste Duchouquette, widow of Louis Bompart* dit *Lafleur*)..... 1,000.00

J. Bte. Girard (dit *Tibeau*)..... 150.00
Marie Josepha Rivet.

Ant. Mallette (*Malet*)..... 100.00
Angelique Moreau.

Nicolas Baujenoux (*Beaugenou*)..... 200.00
Catherine Gravelle.

Gre. (*Gregoire*) Sarpy..... 8,000.00
Pélagie Labadie.

Alexis Lalande..... 300.00
Marie Constant.

Susanne, Negresse..... 250.00

J. Bte. Tison..... 250.00
Marianne Normandeau.

Chls. Sanguinet..... 2,500.00
Marie Anne Condé.

Jean Baptiste Dorval dit Degrosellier (*Desgroseillers*)..... 300.00

E. (*Eugéne*) Alvarez..... 600.00
Joséphine Crépeau.

J. Bte. Dumoulin..... 250.00
Thérèse Aubuchon.

Ve. Dubreuille (*Suzanne Santous, widow of Louis Chauvet Dubreuil*)..... 3,000.00

Jce. (*Jacques*) Chauvin (dit *Charleville*)..... 400.00
Marie Louise Tayon.

Jh. (*John*) Mullanphy..... 2,500.00
Elizabeth Brown.

P. (*Antoine Nicolas Pierre*) Provencher..... 150.00
Marie Jeronima Rutgers.

P. (*Paul*) Primaulx (*Primeau*)..... 50.00
Pélagie Bissonette.

Monsieurs—

Francs. Derouin	$1,200.00
Catherine Tougard dit *Lavoilette.*	
Ve. Buissonette (*Geneviéve Picard, widow of Pierre Bissonette*)	400.00
Ve. Lacaisse (*Marie Marguerite Laquaisse, sage-femme*)	250.00
L. (*Louis*) Lemonde (dit *Lamalice*)	100.00
Thérèse Mainville dit *Deschenes, widow of Joseph Desautels.*	
Francs. (*Jourdain* dit) Labrosse	150.00
Sally Russell.	
Joseph Laprise	100.00
Marie Ortes.	
Pierre Baribeau (*Barribeau*)	400.00
H. (*Hyacinthe*) St. Cire (*Cyr*)	800.00
Hélène Hébert[5].	
Joseph Lacroix (dit *Marentel*)	100.00
Hélène Bissonette.	
Ve. Laviolette (*Catherine Tougard* dit *Laviolette*)	50.00
Marie Labastille (*negresse libre*)	50.00
Jean Derouen (*Derouin*)	75.00
Marguerite Lafontaine, widow of François Guenelle.	
Saml. Solomon	150.00
Geneviève Gueret.	
Ve. Lajoie[6] (*Marie Rose Vidalpando, widow of Jean Salé* dit *Lajoie*)	800.00
We. (*William*) Sullivan	500.00
Sarah McAuley.	

[5] Hélène Hébert was the great grand-daughter of Charles Danis, who received, in 1722, the first grant of land made in "The Illinois."

[6] Madame Salé *dit* Lajoie had a most adventurous life. She was born at Taos, New Mexico. Her parents were killed and she was carried off by the Comanches. She came to St. Louis about 1770, and died here 27 July, 1830, said to be of the age of one hundred and seven years. See Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, 146; Archives of St. Louis, Vol. 3, p. 137; 3 Mo. Reports, 529.

Monsieurs—

L. (*Louis*) Boury	$300.00
V. Guillard (*Vincent Guitard*)	50.00
Thérèse Arpin Poitevin.	
R. LeVasseur (*Regis Vasseur*)	250.00
Françoise Guitard dit *Lagrandeur.*	
Yeffrey (*Geoffrey Camp, mulatto*)	100.00
St. Pierre[7]	150.00
John Coons	200.00
Catherine E. ————————.	
Jh. (*Joseph Chauvin* dit) Charleville	300.00
Victoire Richelet Verdon.	
L. (*Louis Bienvenu* dit) Delisle	300.00
Catherine Nicole Les Bois.	
Gauché (*Gabriel*) Becquette	150.00
Louise St. François.	
Jh. (*Joseph*) Labrosse	50.00
Thérèse Damours de Louviéres, widow of Louis Dehêtres.	
Elizb. Datchurut	50.00
Total des terrins and evalu'ts de St. Louis	$152,655.00

Of the lots "*en ville, non etablir*," there were three; one owned by Auguste Chouteau and two by Joseph Hortiz.

Of the same "*Hor de ville*," there were ten, owned by the following named persons, one each: Jacques Clamorgan, Pierre Chouteau, Cerre père Antoine Soulard, Louis Brazeau, Antoine Bouis, Joseph Marie Papin, *Veuve* Chouteau, Hébert Lecompte, and *Veuve* Dubreuil. Of the "*terrins etablis*," there were in all one hundred and forty-two. Of these, Jacques Clamorgan owned two, Joseph Brazeau two, Pierre Chouteau two, Pascal Cerré two, Antoine Soulard two, Antoine Bouis two, Auguste Chouteau six, Hébert Lecompte two, Joseph Robidoux two, Patrice Lee two, Gregoire Sarpy two,

[7] This was Joseph Labadie *dit* St. Pierre. There were also in the village Charles and Etienne St. Pierre, Paul Jussiaume *dit* St. Pierre and Cadron *dit* St. Pierre.

and Charles Sanguinet two; the others named owned one each, making the total number of land owners in the village, according to the tax list, one hundred and twenty-six.

The only wind mill "*moulin a van,*" was that of Antoine Roi,[8] Auguste Chouteau and Gregoire Sarpy each had a water mill.

The valuations are not distributed, so that it is impossible to discover how much the total amount given is increased by the lots outside of the village. It is probable, however, that the assessed valuation of all of the real estate in St. Louis was very close to the sum of one hundred and fifty-two thousand, five hundred dollars. But it must be remembered that the village lay between Third Street and the River, and extended north about to Morgan Street and South to Convent.

[8] The boundaries of the town of St. Louis, as incorporated 9 November, 1809, were as follows: "Beginning at Antoine Roy's Mill, on the bank of the Mississippi; thence running sixty arpents west; thence south on said line of sixty arpents in the rear until the same come to the Barriere Denoyer; thence due south until it comes to the Sugar Loaf; thence due east to the Mississippi; from thence by the Mississippi to the place first-mentioned." Roy's Mill, or as it was called in later days, Roy's Tower, stood on the bank of the Mississippi about at the foot of Ashley Street. By some it is stated to bave been as far south as Morgan Street. It was a stone round tower of the same kind as those built by the Spanish authorities for the defence of the village, but I can find no authority for the statement often made, that it was a part of the scheme of fortification. It seems to have been built by Roy for a mill. The date of its demolition is uncertain.

MISSOURI'S FIRST BEES.

It is generally known in upper Louisiana, that bees had not been found westward of the Mississippi prior to the year 1797.

At that time the natural history of the bee was not very well known at St. Louis. They relate there that a French lady of that place having received a present of honey from Kaskaskias, was much delighted with it, and being told that it was produced by a kind of fly, she sent a negro with a small box to Kaskaskias (60 miles) to get a pair of the flies, in order that she might obtain the breed.—From Bradbury's *Travels*.

(From an old Daguerreotype in possession of the Society.)

ROY'S TOWER, Near foot of Ashley Street.

AN HONEST OFFICER.[1]

In the year 1819, during a panic in money matters, Pierre Didier was the Treasurer of the Territory of Missouri and had in his possession $20,000 of the money belonging to the Territory, and could not have been called upon in six months to disburse it.

Bernard Pratte and Pierre Chouteau were his securities.

They were tolerably tight up to meet engagements and in a conversation between them it was agreed that they would go together and solicit a loan of $1000 each of Didier. They went and with very long faces, represented to Didier that utter ruin was staring them in the face unless they could get this loan from him for 90 days.

Old man D. remarked to them that he had not one cent and was much distressed at his disability to relieve their pressing wants. Pratte and Chouteau told him that it was all nonsense for him to talk in that way, that they knew he held $20,000 of Territorial money and could not be called on to disburse it for six months, and to let them have it.

Didier answers: "My friends, *it is not my money,* you cannot get *him;* but here is my House and lot, my horse, my cow, and even my bed, take these and sell them at Auction and relieve yourselves."

Pratte and Chouteau went off perfectly satisfied that Didier was an *honest man*—uncorrupted and incorruptible. Their wants were not very great, they got along well enough without it.

My private opinion about the matter is that Pratte and Chouteau desired to test his honesty.

(Signed) Wm. G. Pettus.

To Wilson Primm: I know of no person except yourself who is capable of telling this story, and therefore ask you to do it. Make the parties speak *French,* as they certainly did, but give the translation in English so that we may all understand. I will pay for the publication. W. G. P.

[1] The foregoing paper, in the hand writing of Mr. Pettus, is in the collection of manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society.

NOTES.

THE FUTURE OF THE QUARTERLY.—The SOCIETY has been encouraged at various times to hope that it would be able to publish the COLLECTIONS with regularity. But its hopes have not been heretofore realized. At the present time the prospect is good for the future appearance of an issue of the COLLECTIONS each quarter. And it is expected that the July number will appear during that month.

The great need of the SOCIETY is a publication fund, the income from which will meet the cost of publication. Any contributions to such a fund will be gratefully welcomed. To any one desiring to leave a monument to himself or another, which would be everlasting and a perpetual source of good, nothing better could be devised. In the meantime, the members of the SOCIETY can render substantial aid by procuring new members or advertisements for the Quarterly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.—During the years in which the SOCIETY has been without means to issue a regular publication, it has been most kindly treated by kindred societies. From Massachusetts to California, and from Minnesota to Texas, the several historical societies (with the exception of the Massachusetts Historical Society and a very few others) have sent their publications with unvarying regularity. And these publications, many of which have grown into long sets, are among the chief treasures of our library. Noticeable among these long sets—speaking from memory and not attempting to be comprehensive—are the publications of the Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, the Medford Historical Society of the same State, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Texas State Historical Association, the Historical Society of Montana the Chicago Historical Society, the Illinois State Historical Library, the State Historical Society of Iowa, and the Histori-

cal Department of the same State, the Minnesota Historical Society, the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, the Kansas State Historical Society, the Nebraska Historical Society, and the State of New York and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

To all of these, and to all of our other friends not named above, who have sent us their publications, we wish to express our sincere gratitude and our most hearty thanks.

In contrast with the usual pleasant experience of the SOCIETY, it was recently informed, when a proposition for an *exchange* of publications was made by it to the Historical Society of a sister State, bound to our own by many ties, that no exchange could be made "*for unbound publications.*"

We have recently received from the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, the welcome gift of an almost complete set of the very valuable publications of that Society, the first volume of which was published in the year 1820.

To Mr. T. W. Conyers, of Cando, South Dakota, we wish to give the thanks of the SOCIETY for the gift of a copy of Ephraim McD. Anderson's *Memoirs. Historical and Personal; Including the Campaigns of the First Missouri Confederate Brigade*, published in St. Louis in 1868. This is a book which the SOCIETY has for a long time greatly desired to possess.

The thanks of the SOCIETY are extended, also, to William T. Ragland, Esq., of Paris, Missouri, for valuable assistance in making known the wants of the SOCIETY in that connection.

THE BUILDING FUND.—The possibility of the destruction by fire of the invaluable collections of manuscripts, portraits, specimens of Indian handiwork, and books, housed in the building of the SOCIETY, has long been a source of great anxiety to all those who take an interest in the history of Missouri and Missouri people. That a fireproof building is a necessity, it needs no argument to establish. A fund for the erection of such a building has been subscribed, and the

greater part of it is now in the hands of the Treasurer. We give herewith a list of the subscribers:

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To these public spirited citizens, and to others who have announced the purpose of subscribing as soon as the Society is ready to begin work, the Society gives its most sincere thanks. The plans for the new building have been drawn, and it is expected that the work will be begun in a short time.

The Late Charles Aldrich.—It is with sincere sorrow that we learn of the death of Mr. Charles Aldrich, of Iowa, which occurred at Boone, Iowa, 8 March, 1908. Mr. Aldrich, by his intelligent and unselfish devotion to the collection and preservation of the materials for the history of his own State

and of the Mississippi valley, has made for himself a place in the estimation of the people which will cause his loss to be long deplored. Mr. Aldrich was born in New York State, 2 October, 1828, but removed to Iowa in his early manhood, and thoroughly identified himself with the State of his adoption, to which he rendered good service in both civil and military positions.

The Beginning of Jefferson Barracks.—To General Stephen W. Kearny belongs the honor of being the first immediate commander of troops to arrive at and occupy the site of Jefferson Barracks, the military post near St. Louis. Billon and other chroniclers have mistakenly given the honor to Col. Talbot W. Chambers. Their error is shown by the fact that Chambers, who had been in command of the First Regiment of Infantry, was cashiered from the Army April 28, 1826, several months before the troops arrived at the site. A battalion of the First, consisting of four companies, under command of Kearny, then a captain and brevet major in this regiment, had been with the Sixth Infantry in Gen. Atkinson's Missouri River Expedition in the summer of 1825. On the return of the expedition, in September, 1825, the Sixth went into garrison at Fort Atkinson (Council Bluffs), but the barracks there not being large enough to contain all the troops, the battalion of the First, under Kearny, built a temporary cantonment eight miles below, near the "Lime Kiln," calling it "Cantonment Barbour," where they spent the winter. On May 2, 1826, they descended the Missouri to Cantonment Bellefontaine, near the junction with the Mississippi, taking eight days for the trip. They found the old cantonment in a very decayed state but moved into the buildings in preference to camping. Here they remained till July 10, 1826, when in accordance with departmental orders they abandoned the post (which was never subsequently re-garrisoned) and moved down the Mississippi to the site which Gen. Atkinson had selected for the new military post, ten miles below

St. Louis and four below Carondelet. On the same day at a spot on the reservation near the Rock Spring, they went into camp, calling it "Cantonment Adams," after John Quincy Adams, then president. These facts are obtained from Kearny's own journal of 1826 and may be taken as authentic. Two months later (Sept. 17, 1826), the Third Infantry from Green Bay, under command of Col. Leavenworth, arrived by river at the new post and considerably increased the force there. This command went into a separate camp, which they called "Camp Miller," in honor of the then governor of Missouri. Both camps were nominally under the command of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Atkinson, Colonel of the Sixth Infantry, who was departmental commander at St. Louis. (His own regiment, from which he was detached, was still at Council Bluffs, under the command of Lt.-Col. Woolley.) As winter approached the troops built temporary log cabins for shelter. On Oct. 23, 1826, the whole post was, in accordance with orders from the Adjutant General's office, designated "Jefferson Barracks," in memory of Thomas Jefferson, who had died July 4, 1826, the semi-centennial of American Independence, and but a few days prior to the first occupation of the site by Kearny. Gen. Atkinson's duties keeping him in St. Louis, Col. Leavenworth, the senior officer at the post, was in immediate though not nominal command. To him belongs the honor of conducting the "Infantry School of Instruction," one of the purposes for which the post was designed. This was the first Army service school for infantry. It was destined not to live very long and no similar school was established for over fifty years. Leavenworth was ordered away in the spring of 1827 and became occupied with the establishment of the newer post in Kansas, which now bears his name.

Ramsay Crooks.—The Society is indebted to the good offices of Charles M. Burton, Esq., of Detroit, for a typewritten volume containing copies of correspondence between Ramsay Crooks and John Jacob Astor, beginning in 1813 and extending to the middle of 1828. This supplements the Ashley, Sublette, and other papers relating to the Fur Trade already in the Society's possession. When the Chouteau papers, which have been promised to the Society are added, so much new material will be made accessible that the history of the Missouri River Country will have to be rewritten.

More About Spanish Missouri.—Since the instructions of d'Ulloa to Rui, appearing in the foregoing pages was put in type, the Society has received from Hon. Louis Houck a translation of a most interesting document giving a description of the manner in which Rui carried out the instructions given him. This document furnishes new material for the history of St. Louis and St. Charles counties, and will be published in the next issue of the Collections. The Society is promised transcripts from the French Archives which it is expected will settle some disputed questions regarding the French settlements in Missouri.

The July Quarterly.—Among the papers promised for the next issue of the Collections, which, it is expected will be published in July, is one about Manuel Lisa, supplementing the sketch given by Chittenden in his *American Fur Trade*, and containing facts relating to Lisa's career which were not accessible to Chittenden. Another, is a programme of Missouri History for Study Clubs, with bibliographical references. It is expected that the latter will be republished by the Society in pamphlet form for distribution throughout the State, and it is hoped that it will stimulate the growing interest in the subject.

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